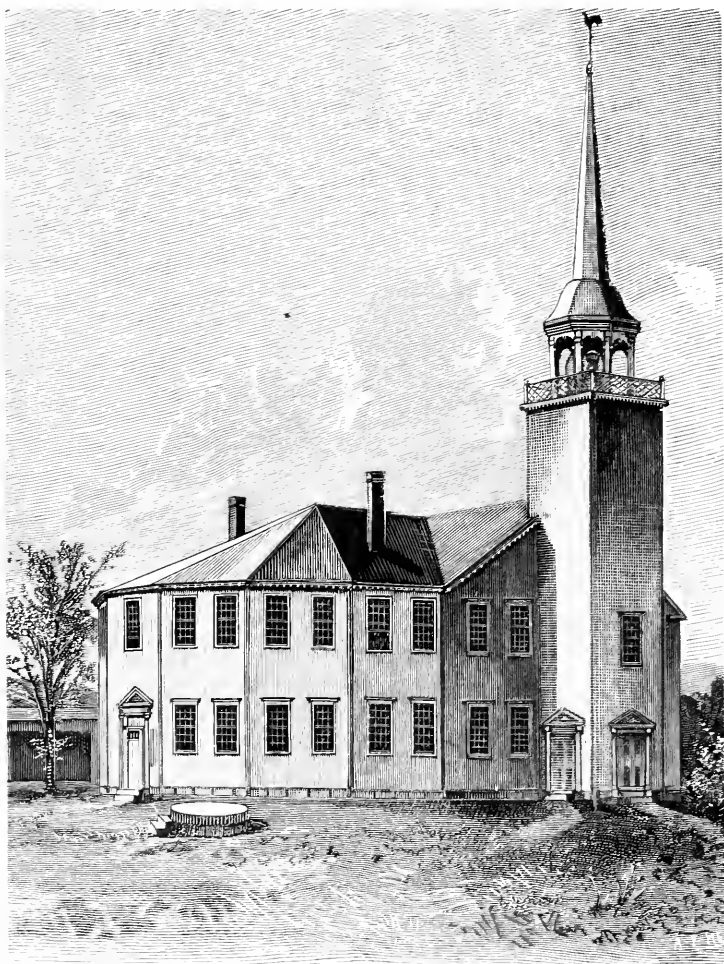


THE
N. H. FEDERAL CONVENTION.
1788.



THE OLD NORTH MEETING-HOUSE.

Birth of the Federal Constitution.

A HISTORY

OF THE

New Hampshire Convention

FOR THE INVESTIGATION, DISCUSSION, AND DECISION

OF THE

FEDERAL CONSTITUTION:

AND OF THE

OLD NORTH MEETING-HOUSE

OF CONCORD,

IN WHICH IT WAS RATIFIED BY THE NINTH STATE, AND THUS
RENDERED OPERATIVE, AT ONE O'CLOCK P. M., ON
SATURDAY, THE 21ST DAY OF JUNE,

1788.

BY JOSEPH B. WALKER.

And sovereign law, that state's collected will,
O'er thrones and globes elate,
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill.

—*Sir William Jones.*

BOSTON:

Cupples & Scurd, Publishers.

1888.

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By JOSEPH B. WALKER
1888.



TO THE
HONORABLE GEORGE W. NESMITH, LL.D.,
FOR SIXTY-THREE YEARS A MEMBER OF
THE NEW HAMPSHIRE BAR,
AND A LIFE-LONG FRIEND OF THE
GREAT EXPOUNDER
OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES
THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT OF THE
N. H. FEDERAL CONVENTION
IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY HIS SINCERE FRIEND,
JOSEPH B. WALKER.

Concord, N. H., Nov. 1, 1888.



PREFACE.

An interest awakened by the centennial anniversary of the ratification by New Hampshire of the Constitution of the United States prompted the preparation of this account of our Federal Convention.¹

Two facts render its proceedings particularly memorable, viz.,—

1. *In our Convention ratification received its first check.* A thorough knowledge of the former policy of British rule under the Georges, and of the selfish administrations of their provincial governors, had rendered our forefathers cautious, when asked to surrender to a superior central power a portion of the rights which they had acquired by a profuse expenditure of blood and treasure. Moreover, the public sentiment of the state was averse to slavery,² gradually dying out within its own limits, and any national provision conservative of that institution did not command a wide approval. Then, too, the inhabitants of New Hampshire were, at

¹The New Hampshire Historical Society celebrated this anniversary at Concord, on the 21st day of June, 1888, by an address by Hon. James W. Patterson, at the Opera House, in the forenoon, which was followed in the afternoon by a dinner

and appropriate post-prandial speeches, many of which were made by distinguished guests of the society from other states.

²Slavery died a natural death in New Hampshire. It was never formally abolished by statute.

this time, almost wholly an agricultural people. Its short coast line afforded but one harbor, and its important water-powers were still unimproved. Its virgin soil yielded to its hardy occupants a satisfactory support, and these felt but little the need of a stronger general government.

2. *But for this check New Hampshire would have been the seventh state to ratify the Federal Constitution, and the honor of being the ninth and thereby completing the number required to render operative its provisions would have attached to another.* Discouraging as this check at first proved to the Federalists throughout the country, it afterwards secured to New Hampshire a distinction which but one only of the thirteen states could possibly enjoy—a distinction which the citizens of New Hampshire ought always to appreciate and never undervalue.

Of the fact that the history of our Federal Convention is worthy of a more exhaustive examination than any which it has yet received, no one is more fully aware than the author of this volume. If its publication shall contribute in any degree to the attainment of this end, the most important object of its issue will have been accomplished.



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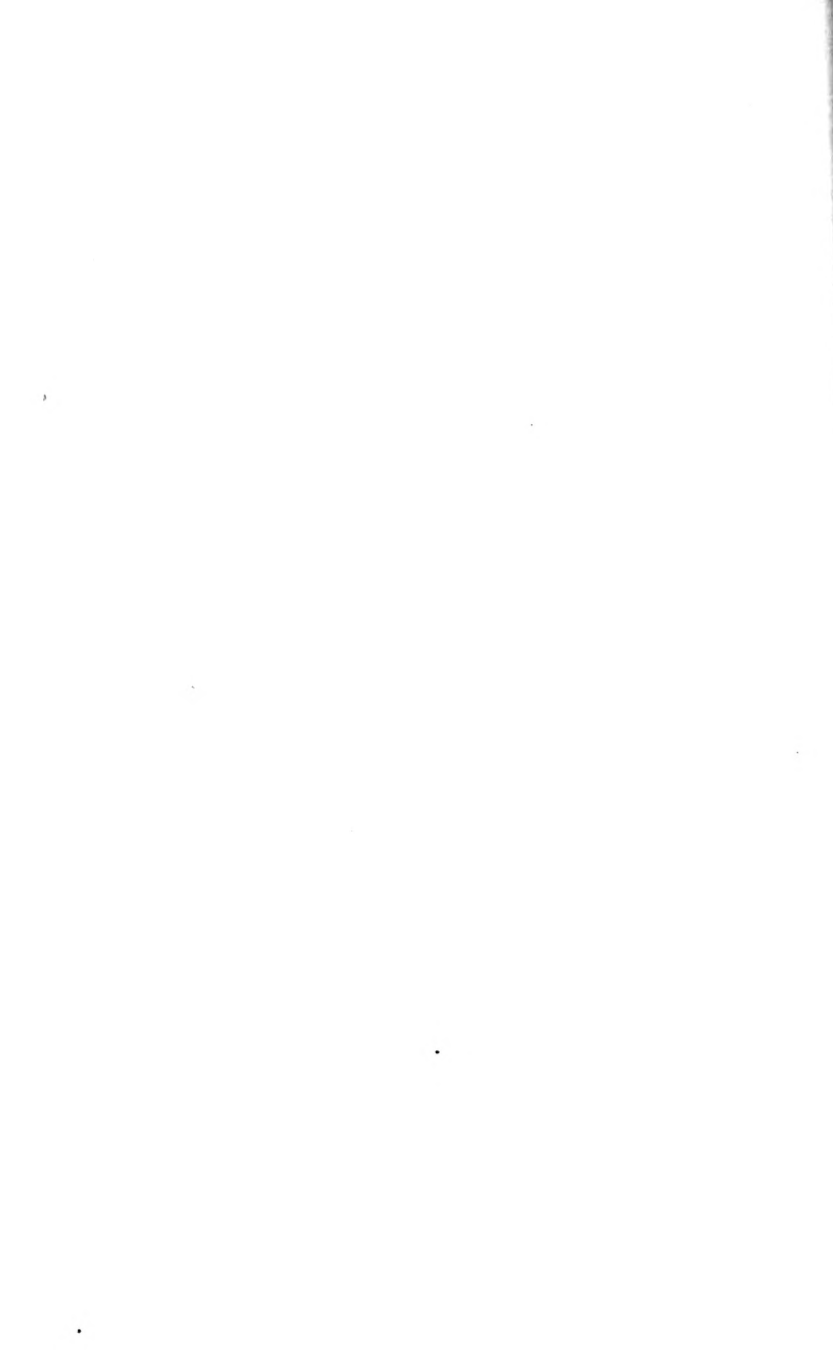
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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

The grandest period of American history. A new nation. Need of a stronger government. Brevity of the Journal of the Convention. Few reports of speeches of members preserved.

The grandest period in American history is, perhaps, all things considered, that during which the thirteen colonies raised themselves from a condition of royal dependence to that of a stable nationality. It began with the assembling of the Continental Congress, on the fifth day of September, 1774, and ended with the ratification of the Federal Constitution by New Hampshire, as the ninth state, on the twenty-first day of June, 1788. It embraces the Revolutionary struggle with England, and the subsequent surrender, by thirteen jealous state sovereignties, to a common central organization, of such of

their political powers as were requisite for the formation of an efficient national government.

The adoption of the Federal Constitution by nine independent states was the creation of a new nation, not by slow, successive developments, but rather by a single joint act of popular power. By this a new-born government sprang at once into perfect existence, as had formerly the fabled Minerva from the head of Jove. As they witnessed this sublime achievement, the friends of human freedom might have said, as did Pope Paul the Third of the creation of the Order of Jesus, "The finger of God is in it."

Previous experience, during their struggle for independence, had revealed to the several states the necessity of a stronger union than that of a common interest or friendly sympathy, and secured to them the Articles of Confederation. These, strengthened by constant external danger, answered in a measure their purpose until the advent of peace revealed their weakness, and the necessities of an expanding nation demanded a bond of greater strength.

This was found in due time in the Federal Constitution, which had been drafted by a Convention, assembled for the purpose, at Philadel-

phia, in May, 1787,¹ and reported to congress on the twenty-eighth day of the following September, which body, shortly after, referred the question of its adoption to the people of the several states.

To detail New Hampshire's part in the ratification of this great instrument has been attempted in the following pages—a part which has given to her a glory which will never grow dim, but, rather, brighter and more bright, as American nationality expands, and as the great principles which it embodies are more extensively welcomed by other peoples in other lands.

It is to be regretted that the Journal of the Federal Convention of New Hampshire is so very brief. It records not the proceedings, but the results only of the proceedings, and gives no idea whatever of the character of the debates which led to them. Its two sessions occupied a period of ten days at Exeter, and another of four days at Concord. Exclusive of the roll of members, the secretary's record covers but ten and

¹The Federal Convention held its first session on the fourteenth day of May, 1787, and was dissolved on the seventeenth day of September of the same year.

The delegates from New Hampshire were John Langdon of Portsmouth, and Nicholas Gilman of Exeter.

one third printed pages of the tenth volume of the New Hampshire Provincial and State Papers. It does not afford a report of any debate, not even of a single speech or the substance of one. In fact, in all his searchings, the writer has discovered an authentic report of but one speech made in the Convention, viz., that of Governor Sullivan upon the subject of the jurisdiction of the federal courts, which Mr. Thomas C. Amory has quoted from the *Freeman's Oracle* of March 7, 1788, in his valuable life of that gentleman.¹ There is reason to suppose that the speech attributed to Col. Ebenezer Webster was written out from tradition, by a hand other than his own, long after the Convention. The same may perhaps be true of the one credited to Hon. Joshua Atherton, upon the subject of slavery, which was printed by George Barstow, in his History of New Hampshire, in 1842. In his memoir of his father, Hon. Charles H. Atherton remarks that it may have been published at the time in *Melcher's New Hampshire Gazette*; but an examination of the file of that paper for 1788 has not revealed it. So far as the author of this chapter knows, it appeared for the first time in

¹ Life of Gen. John Sullivan, pp. 230 and 231.

print in the *New Hampshire Statesman* for July 7, 1827.

If an account of the proceedings of the Convention be sought in the New Hampshire newspapers of the time, it will be found that these, few in number and of limited dimensions, contain but little of the information sought. Yet something may be gleaned from them regarding the state of public opinion among the most prominent citizens of the state. The *New Hampshire Gazette* contains a series of articles in which "Fabius" ably discusses the merits of the proposed Constitution. The student of the Convention will find the Massachusetts papers quite as helpful as those of our own state. From biographical notices of members, and from town and other histories, facts may often be gleaned of much importance. In short, the materials for a satisfactory account of this memorable assembly are to be obtained only by much research. They will often be found where least expected, and are by no means abundant.





CHAPTER II.

THE MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION.

Names of Delegates from the several towns and places. Biographical Sketches of prominent members.

The New Hampshire Convention, “for the Investigation, Discussion, and Decision of the Federal Constitution,” assembled at the courthouse, in Exeter, on Wednesday, the thirteenth day of February, A. D. 1788.

The population of the state at that time numbered about one hundred and thirty-four thousand.¹ One hundred and thirteen delegates were returned to the Convention from one hundred and seventy-five towns and places. It appears by the Journal that one of these, Mr. Nathaniel Ladd, of Epping, never took his seat; and that Haverhill, Piermont, Warren, Coventry, Lin-

¹ Belknap's History of New Hampshire, vol. 3, p. 236.

coln, and Franconia were unrepresented at the first session, and Lee, Peterborough, Society Land, Hancock, Antrim, Deering, and Hinsdale at the second.

Each town was usually represented by one delegate. Portsmouth, however, sent three and Londonderry two, while in some instances several small towns or places joined and sent but one, as in the case of Holderness, Campton, and Thornton, represented by Judge Samuel Livermore.

The names of these towns and places, and of their delegates as shown by the Journal of the Convention, were as follows:

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Portsmouth,	John Langdon, Esq ^r . ¹	y.

¹John Langdon, Esq., one of New Hampshire's most distinguished citizens, was born in Portsmouth, 1740; son of John L. and grandson of Tobias Langdon. He was one of the party which seized Fort William and Mary, at New Castle, 1774, and carried away the powder and military stores; a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1775 and 1776; representative

and speaker of the house of representatives, N. H., 1776 and 1777; he forwarded the expedition, under Gen. Stark, to cut off Burgoyne's march, 1777; judge of the court of common pleas; in 1779 he was continental agent in New Hampshire for building of public ships; and again delegate to congress in 1783. In 1784-85 he was a member of the N. H. senate, and

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Portsmouth,	John Pickering, Esq ^r . ¹	y.
“	Pierce Long, Esq ^r .	y.
Exeter,	John Taylor Gilman, Esq ^r . ²	y.

in the latter year was president of the state, and in November, 1788, was elected senator of the United States, and was the first president pro tem. of that body under the Federal Constitution. He was senator two terms. From 1805 to 1808, and again in 1810, he was governor of the state. Governor Langdon was eminent for his personal dignity, his patriotism, his capacity for offices of high honor and trust, and for his religious reverence and devotion. He was a member of the first church in Portsmouth. An excellent portrait of him is in the council-chamber of the state. He died Sept. 18, 1819, aged 78. — *Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 8.

¹John Pickering, Esq., was a native of Newington; graduated at Harvard college in 1761, and having devoted some time to theological studies, was offered the rectorship of an Episcopal church in England. He declined, and applied himself to the study of the law in which he became eminent. He was attor-

ney-general, 1786; was a leading member of the Convention, 1791–2; repeatedly a member of the legislature; president of the senate in 1789; and governor, *ex officio*, of the state, on the election of Governor John Langdon to the senate of the United States. In 1790 he was appointed chief-justice of the superior court, which office he held five years. He was afterwards district judge of the United States. He received the degree of LL. D. from Harvard and Dartmouth colleges. He died April 11, 1805, aged 67. — *Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 30.

²John Taylor Gilman, Esq., of Exeter, was the son of Nicholas Gilman, who married Ann Taylor, a daughter of Rev. John Taylor, of Milton, Mass. He was born Dec. 19, 1753. With only the advantages of a common academic education, he rose to distinction in all the public offices of the state. The morning after the news of the battle of Lexington, he marched as a volunteer with a hundred others

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Londonderry,	Col ^o Daniel Runnels,	n.
“	Archib ^d McMurphy, Esq ^r .	n.
Chester,	Mr. Joseph Blanchard,	y.
Newington,	Benjamin Adams, Esq ^r .	y.
Greenland,	Dr. Ichabod Weeks,	y.
Rye,	Mr. Nathan Goss,	y.
New Castle,	Henry Prescott, Esq ^r .	y.
North Hampton,	Rev ^d Benj ^a . Thurston, ¹	y.
Hampton,	Christopher Toppa, Esq ^r .	y.
Hampton Falls		
& Seabrook,	Rev ^d Sam ^l . Langdon, ²	y.
Stratham,	Mr. Jon ^a Wiggin,	y.
Kensington,	Jeremiah Fogg, Esq ^r .	y.

to Cambridge. In 1782 he was a member of congress; in 1783, treasurer of the state, and again in 1791–93. He filled the office of governor from 1794 to 1805; was again elected in 1813, 1814, and 1815. His long and useful services were gratefully acknowledged by the legislature in a farewell address. Politically he was known as a Federalist. He died in Exeter, September, 1828, aged 74. — *Proc. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 9.

¹Rev. Benjamin Thurston was the fourth pastor of the church of North Hampton. He was born at Bradford, Mass., in 1750, and graduated at Harvard college in 1774. He was ordained

November 2, 1785, and continued his pastorate of this church about fifteen years, at the expiration of which period he resigned the position, and was dismissed October 27, 1800. He is said to have died near Raleigh, N. C., about 1804.

²Rev. Samuel Langdon, D. D., of Hampton Falls, was first settled over the North church at Portsmouth, twenty-seven years. He was afterwards elected to the office of president of Harvard college, which he held from 1774 to 1780. Eminent for learning, patriotism, and piety, he deceased Nov. 29, 1797, aged 75. — *Proc. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 9.

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
S. Hampton & East Kingstown,	Mr. Benj ^a Clough,	n.
Kingstown,	Hon ^l Josiah Bartlett, Esq ^r . ¹	y.
Brentwood,	Doc ^t . Thomas Stow Ranney,	y.
Epping,	Mr. Nath ^l Ladd,	
New Market,	Nath ^l Rogers, Esq ^r .	y.
Nottingham,	Tho ^s . Bartlett, Esq ^r . ²	y.

¹Hon. Josiah Bartlett, Esq., takes rank with the most eminent of New Hampshire's sons. He was born in Amesbury, Mass., in 1729,—son of Stephen Bartlett. In his profession of medicine he acquired distinction, but was called from a successful practice to fill offices of trust and honor in the state and in the national congress. He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, July, 1776; chief-justice of the court of common pleas (N. H.) 1779; justice of the superior court, 1784,—chief-justice in 1788. In 1790 he was chosen by the legislature president of New Hampshire, and in 1791 he was elected to the same office by the people; and, under the revised constitution, he was chosen governor, 1792. He was the chief original founder and president of the New Hampshire Medical Society, 1791. He died May 19,

1795, aged 65.—*Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 9.

²Thomas Bartlett, Esq., of Nottingham, was among the leading patriots of Rockingham county. Aside from offices of minor grade, he was captain of the 5th company of "six weeks men" at Winter Hill in 1775; lieutenant-colonel in Col. Gilman's regiment at Rhode Island in 1778; from May, 1778, to January, 1779, a member of the Committee of Safety; colonel of one of the New Hampshire regiments for the defence of West Point in 1780. Under the law of 1792 he was made brigadier-general of the third brigade of New Hampshire militia. He was representative to the fourth Provincial Congress, at Exeter, May, 1775, and one of the committee to remove the public records from Portsmouth to Exeter, in June, 1775.

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Deerfield,	Doc ^t . Edm ^d Chadwick,	y.
Northwood, Epsom & Allenstown,	Maj ^r . James Gray,	y.
Chichester & Pittsfield,	Benj ^a Sias, Esq ^r .	n.
Canterbury,	Col ^o Jer ^e . Clough,	n.
Northfield,	Mr. Charles Glidden,	y.
Loudon,	Mr. Jon ^a Smith,	n.
Concord,	Cap ^t . Benj ^a Emery,	n.
Pembroke,	Samuel Daniels, Esq ^r .	
Candia,	Mr. Stephen Fifield,	n.
Raymond & Poplin, ¹	Mr. Thomas Chase,	n.
Hawke ² & San- down,	Mr. Nehemiah Sleeper,	n.
Hampstead,	John Calfe, Esq ^r . ³	y.

After the Revolution he was speaker of the house of representatives and justice of the court of common pleas. He died June 30, 1807, aged 59. —*Prov. and State Papers*, vol. 10, p. 9.

¹ Fremont.

² Danville.

³ John Calfe was, in some respects, a very remarkable man. Few were so generally known throughout the state, and no one was more highly esteemed. He was born at Newbury, Mass., on the 13th of June, 1741. He

removed to Hampstead in 1762. The next year he became a member of the church, and ten years later was elected a deacon. He was an under officer in one of the French and Indian wars, and was in active service about Lake Champlain. At a later period he was a captain and subsequently a major in the army of the Revolution. From May 28, 1778, to June 5, 1779, and from Jan. 22, 1780, to May 28, 1784, he was a member of the Committee of Safety. He was secretary of the New Hampshire Convention called to con-

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Atkinson &		
Plastow,	Col ^o . Benj ^a Stone,	n.
Salem,	L ^t . Thomas Dow,	n.
Newtown,	Capt. Robert Steward,	n.
Wyndham,	James Bettan, Esq ^r .	y.
Pelham,	Rev ^d Amos Moody,	y.
Dover,	Doc ^t . Ezra Green, ¹	y.
Durham,	Exc ^y John Sullivan, Esq ^r . ²	y.

sider the ratification of the Federal Constitution, and in 1791-92 held the same office in the convention for the revision of the state constitution. For twenty-five years he was a justice of the court of common pleas for the county of Rockingham, and for a like period was clerk of the New Hampshire house of representatives. He was emphatically a man of the people. He was honest, capable, and judicious. An old writer has remarked that "no man more sacredly regarded the will of the people than he." He died at Hampstead, October 30, 1808, aged 67.—Compiled from *F. and Moore's Hist. Col.*

¹Dr. Ezra Green, of Dover, was born in Malden, Mass.; graduated at Harvard college, 1765; joined the army under Col. James Reed, 1775; in June

of that year was appointed surgeon, and served on land till April, 1778. He was then appointed surgeon on board the ship *Ranger*, under command of Capt. John Paul Jones. Retiring from service in 1781, he settled at Dover as a merchant. He died, greatly respected, July 25, 1847, aged 101.—*Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 9.

²His Excellency John Sullivan, Esq., president of the Convention, was the son of John Sullivan, and was born in Dover, in that part called Somersworth, in 1741. He was a brother of His Excellency James Sullivan, of Massachusetts. Both received their education from their father. John commenced the practice of law at Durham, where he continued his residence till his death, and where his remains are interred. He early

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Sommersworth,	Moses Carr, Esq ^r .	y.
Rochester,	Mr. Barnabas Palmer,	n.
Barrington,	Maj ^r Samuel Hale,	y.
Sandborntown,	William Harper, Esq ^r .	n.
Gilmantown,	Honb ^l Joseph Badger, ¹	n.

evinced a military spirit, and was one of the brave band that seized Fort William and Mary at New Castle, 1774; was delegate to congress 1774-75, and in the latter year was appointed brigadier-general in the army of the Revolution, and in 1779 major-general. He was in command at Winter Hill, 1775; in Canada, 1776; distinguished in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, 1777; commanded the army in Rhode Island, 1778; and was at the head of the expedition against the western Indians in 1779. Filling numerous offices in the state as agent to settle the disputed bounds of the New Hampshire Grants, attorney-general, etc., in 1786 and 1787 he was chosen president of New Hampshire. In 1789 he was a presidential elector, and again that year chosen president of the state. He was appointed judge of the district court of New Hampshire by Washington, 1789, which office he held till his death, Jan. 23,

1795, at the age of 54. See an admirable portrait of him in the council-chamber, Concord, painted from a sketch by Col. Trumbull. — *Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 10.

¹Hon. Joseph Badger, Esq., son of Capt. Joseph Badger, an early settler in Gilmanton, was born in Bradford, Mass., Oct. 23, 1746. He was a man of great military ardor, and held offices in the militia for thirty years, passing from the rank of captain to that of brigadier-general. He was present at the capture of Burgoyne in 1779. After the war he served the town of Gilmanton as representative, and was a councillor six years,—1784, 1790-92, 1795-96. He was one of the founders of Gilmanton academy, gave the land on which it is located, and superintended the erection of the building. He died Jan. 15, 1809, aged 62. The late Governor William Badger was his son.—*Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 10.

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Lee, Madbury, Merrideth & New Hampton, Col ^o . Eben ^r . Smith, Sandwich & Tamworth, Moultonboro', Tuftonborough, Wolfboro' & Ossipee, Barnstead, New Durham & N. D. Gore, Wakefield, Middletown & Effingham, Conway, Eaton, Burton ² & Locations,	Capt ^t Reuben Hill, Rev ^d William Hooper, ¹ Daniel Bedee, Esq ^r . Mr. Nath ^l . Shannon, Mr. Jon ^a . Chesley, Mr. Nicholas Austin, David Page, Esq ^r .	n. y. y. y. n. n.

¹ Rev. William Hooper was born in Berwick, Maine, where he was ordained as a Calvinist Baptist minister on the seventeenth day of August, 1776. On the day of his ordination he baptized Benjamin Randall, afterwards the founder of the Freewill Baptist denomination in New Hampshire. He removed to Madbury, where he was highly esteemed as a man and a preacher. He had a small farm,

which, with shoemaking, occupied his leisure time. For twenty-five years he was the secretary of the New Hampshire Baptist Association. He was a man of middling size, vigorous constitution, strong mind, retentive memory, great decision of character, and inflexible integrity. He died in Madbury in 1837.—*Compiled from Plumer Papers.*

² Albany.

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Nottingham West, ¹	Mr. Eben ^r Cummings,	n.
Litchfield,	Mr. Daniel Bixby,	n.
Derryfield, ²	Lieu ^t . John Hall,	y.
Dunstable,	Deac ⁿ W ^m . Hunt,	n.
Merrimac,	Timothy Taylor, Esq ^r .	n.
Bedford,	Mr. Stephen Dole,	n.
Goffstown,	Mr. William Page,	n.
Holles,	Cap ^t . Daniel Kindrick,	n.
Amherst,	Joshua Atherton, Esq ^r . ⁴	n.
Raby ³ & Mason,	Deac ⁿ Amos Dakin,	y.
New Ipswich,	Cap ^t . Charles Barrett, ⁵	n.

¹ Hudson.² Manchester.³ Brookline.

⁴ Hon. Joshua Atherton was born in Harvard, Massachusetts, June 20, 1737; was a graduate of Harvard college, 1762; commenced the practice of law in Amherst, 1772; was father of Hon. Charles H. Atherton and grandfather of Hon. Charles G. Atherton, both distinguished as lawyers and civilians. In the Revolution, Mr. Atherton at first favored the loyalists, and for a time was imprisoned in Amherst jail, but subsequently regained the confidence of his fellow-citizens; was a member of the Convention that adopted the Federal Constitution, 1788, state senator, 1793, and attorney-general of the state 1793-1801. He died in Amherst, April

3, 1809, aged 71.—*Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 35.

⁵ Capt. Charles Barrett was born in 1740, and for many years was one of the most enterprising citizens of New Ipswich. During the Revolutionary period his loyalty to the patriot cause was for a time in doubt, but he regained public confidence, and was repeatedly honored by his fellow-citizens with important public offices. He was a state senator in 1791, 1793, and 1794, and at different times a representative and a councillor. He with associates erected the first cotton factory built in New Hampshire. On a plan of his own he constructed a canal in the midst of George's river, hoping thereby to render practicable the passage of boats from tide water to the town—an

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Francestown,	Mr. Thomas Bixby,	n.
Wilton,	Mr. William Abbott,	y.
Lyndeborough,	Doct. Benj ^a Jones,	n.
Temple & Peterbor ^o Slip,	Deac ⁿ John Cragin,	n.
Peterbor ^o & Society Land,	Maj ^r . Nathan Dix,	
Hancock, Antrim & Deering,	Mr. Evan Dow,	
Hinnekar & Hillsborough,	Mr. Robert B. Wilkins, ¹	y.
New Boston,	John Cochran, Esq ^r .	n.
Weare,	Mr. Jonathan Dow,	n.
Hopkinton,	Mr. Joshua Morss,	y.
Dunbarton & Bow,	Mr. Jacob Green,	n.

enterprise which proved unsuccessful. He was a large owner of wild lands in Maine, and made many efforts for their occupancy and improvement. He was an impulsive man, and possessed great energy. He had but a limited education, yet his untiring activity and business experience supplied in part this want. Few persons, if any, appreciated more fully the value of early mental training, and he became one of the founders of New Ipswich academy. He died Dec. 21, 1808.—*Compiled from History of New Ipswich.*

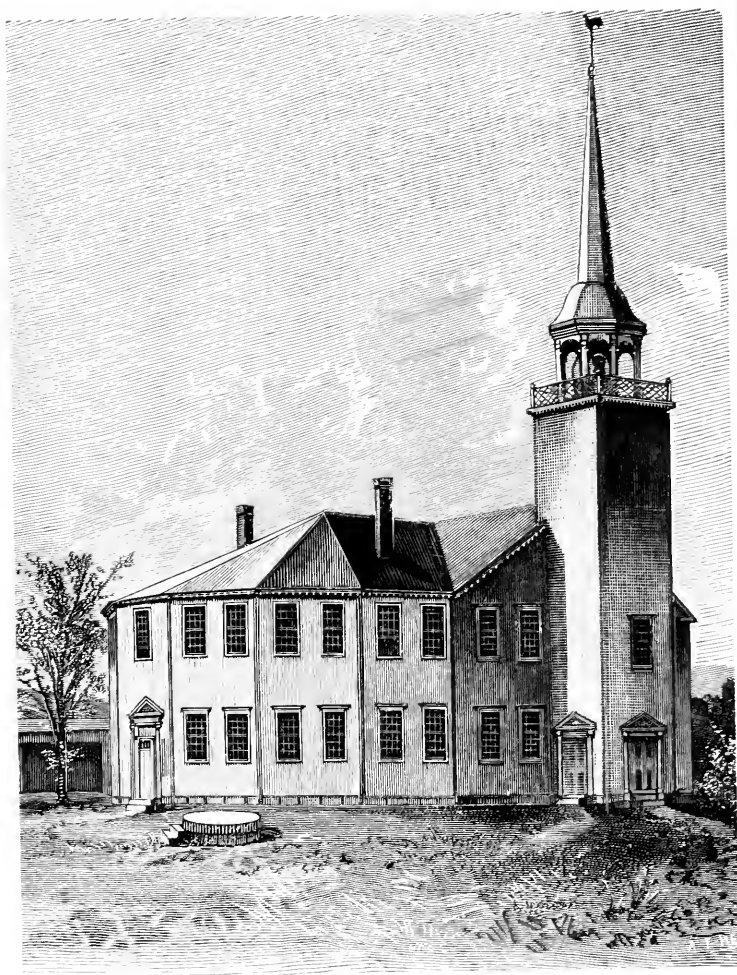
¹Mr. Robert B. Wilkins, of

Henniker, a native of Amherst, entered the army at the age of sixteen, and was in the battle of Bunker Hill—wounded; in the Continental army, in Col. Scammel's regiment, he was promoted to a lieutenancy. He served under Gen. Lafayette, of whom he was a great admirer. On his visit to Concord, in June, 1825, the general met Lieut. Wilkins and recognized him. Receiving a pension from the government, he spent the later years of his life with his family in Concord, but died in Boston, August, 1832, aged 77.—*Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 10.



THE
N. H. FEDERAL CONVENTION.
1788.





THE OLD NORTH MEETING-HOUSE.

Birth of the Federal Constitution.

A HISTORY

OF THE

New Hampshire Convention

FOR THE INVESTIGATION, DISCUSSION, AND DECISION

OF THE

FEDERAL CONSTITUTION:

AND OF THE

OLD NORTH MEETING-HOUSE

OF CONCORD,

IN WHICH IT WAS RATIFIED BY THE NINTH STATE, AND THUS
RENDERED OPERATIVE, AT ONE O'CLOCK P. M., ON
SATURDAY, THE 21ST DAY OF JUNE,

1788.

BY JOSEPH B. WALKER.

And sovereign law, that state's collected will,
O'er thrones and globes elate,
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill.

—*Sir William Jones.*

BOSTON :

Cupples & Surd, Publishers.

1888.

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BY JOSEPH B. WALKER
1888.



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TO THE
HONORABLE GEORGE W. NESMITH, LL.D.,
FOR SIXTY-THREE YEARS A MEMBER OF
THE NEW HAMPSHIRE BAR,
AND A LIFE-LONG FRIEND OF THE
GREAT EXPOUNDER
OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES,
THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT OF THE
N. H. FEDERAL CONVENTION
IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY HIS SINCERE FRIEND,
JOSEPH B. WALKER.

Concord, N. H., Nov. 1, 1888.





PREFACE.

An interest awakened by the centennial anniversary of the ratification by New Hampshire of the Constitution of the United States prompted the preparation of this account of our Federal Convention.¹

Two facts render its proceedings particularly memorable, viz.,—

1. *In our Convention ratification received its first check.* A thorough knowledge of the former policy of British rule under the Georges, and of the selfish administrations of their provincial governors, had rendered our forefathers cautious, when asked to surrender to a superior central power a portion of the rights which they had acquired by a profuse expenditure of blood and treasure. Moreover, the public sentiment of the state was averse to slavery,² gradually dying out within its own limits, and any national provision conservative of that institution did not command a wide approval. Then, too, the inhabitants of New Hampshire were, at

¹The New Hampshire Historical Society celebrated this anniversary at Concord, on the 21st day of June, 1888, by an address by Hon. James W. Patterson, at the Opera House, in the forenoon, which was followed in the afternoon by a dinner

and appropriate post-prandial speeches, many of which were made by distinguished guests of the society from other states.

²Slavery died a natural death in New Hampshire. It was never formally abolished by statute.

this time, almost wholly an agricultural people. Its short coast line afforded but one harbor, and its important water-powers were still unimproved. Its virgin soil yielded to its hardy occupants a satisfactory support, and these felt but little the need of a stronger general government.

2. *But for this check New Hampshire would have been the seventh state to ratify the Federal Constitution, and the honor of being the ninth and thereby completing the number required to render operative its provisions would have attached to another.* Discouraging as this check at first proved to the Federalists throughout the country, it afterwards secured to New Hampshire a distinction which but one only of the thirteen states could possibly enjoy—a distinction which the citizens of New Hampshire ought always to appreciate and never undervalue.

Of the fact that the history of our Federal Convention is worthy of a more exhaustive examination than any which it has yet received, no one is more fully aware than the author of this volume. If its publication shall contribute in any degree to the attainment of this end, the most important object of its issue will have been accomplished.



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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

The grandest period of American history. A new nation. Need of a stronger government. Brevity of the Journal of the Convention. Few reports of speeches of members preserved.

The grandest period in American history is, perhaps, all things considered, that during which the thirteen colonies raised themselves from a condition of royal dependence to that of a stable nationality. It began with the assembling of the Continental Congress, on the fifth day of September, 1774, and ended with the ratification of the Federal Constitution by New Hampshire, as the ninth state, on the twenty-first day of June, 1788. It embraces the Revolutionary struggle with England, and the subsequent surrender, by thirteen jealous state sovereignties, to a common central organization, of such of

their political powers as were requisite for the formation of an efficient national government.

The adoption of the Federal Constitution by nine independent states was the creation of a new nation, not by slow, successive developments, but rather by a single joint act of popular power. By this a new-born government sprang at once into perfect existence, as had formerly the fabled Minerva from the head of Jove. As they witnessed this sublime achievement, the friends of human freedom might have said, as did Pope Paul the Third of the creation of the Order of Jesus, "The finger of God is in it."

Previous experience, during their struggle for independence, had revealed to the several states the necessity of a stronger union than that of a common interest or friendly sympathy, and secured to them the Articles of Confederation. These, strengthened by constant external danger, answered in a measure their purpose until the advent of peace revealed their weakness, and the necessities of an expanding nation demanded a bond of greater strength.

This was found in due time in the Federal Constitution, which had been drafted by a Convention, assembled for the purpose, at Philadel-

phia, in May, 1787,¹ and reported to congress on the twenty-eighth day of the following September, which body, shortly after, referred the question of its adoption to the people of the several states.

To detail New Hampshire's part in the ratification of this great instrument has been attempted in the following pages—a part which has given to her a glory which will never grow dim, but, rather, brighter and more bright, as American nationality expands, and as the great principles which it embodies are more extensively welcomed by other peoples in other lands.

It is to be regretted that the Journal of the Federal Convention of New Hampshire is so very brief. It records not the proceedings, but the results only of the proceedings, and gives no idea whatever of the character of the debates which led to them. Its two sessions occupied a period of ten days at Exeter, and another of four days at Concord. Exclusive of the roll of members, the secretary's record covers but ten and

¹The Federal Convention held its first session on the fourteenth day of May, 1787, and was dissolved on the seventeenth day of September of the same year.

The delegates from New Hampshire were John Langdon of Portsmouth, and Nicholas Gilman of Exeter.

one third printed pages of the tenth volume of the New Hampshire Provincial and State Papers. It does not afford a report of any debate, not even of a single speech or the substance of one. In fact, in all his searchings, the writer has discovered an authentic report of but one speech made in the Convention, viz., that of Governor Sullivan upon the subject of the jurisdiction of the federal courts, which Mr. Thomas C. Amory has quoted from the *Freeman's Oracle* of March 7, 1788, in his valuable life of that gentleman.¹ There is reason to suppose that the speech attributed to Col. Ebenezer Webster was written out from tradition, by a hand other than his own, long after the Convention. The same may perhaps be true of the one credited to Hon. Joshua Atherton, upon the subject of slavery, which was printed by George Barstow, in his *History of New Hampshire*, in 1842. In his memoir of his father, Hon. Charles H. Atherton remarks that it may have been published at the time in *Melcher's New Hampshire Gazette*; but an examination of the file of that paper for 1788 has not revealed it. So far as the author of this chapter knows, it appeared for the first time in

¹ Life of Gen. John Sullivan, pp. 230 and 231.

print in the *New Hampshire Statesman* for July 7, 1827.

If an account of the proceedings of the Convention be sought in the New Hampshire newspapers of the time, it will be found that these, few in number and of limited dimensions, contain but little of the information sought. Yet something may be gleaned from them regarding the state of public opinion among the most prominent citizens of the state. The *New Hampshire Gazette* contains a series of articles in which "Fabius" ably discusses the merits of the proposed Constitution. The student of the Convention will find the Massachusetts papers quite as helpful as those of our own state. From biographical notices of members, and from town and other histories, facts may often be gleaned of much importance. In short, the materials for a satisfactory account of this memorable assembly are to be obtained only by much research. They will often be found where least expected, and are by no means abundant.





CHAPTER II.

THE MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION.

Names of Delegates from the several towns and places. Biographical Sketches of prominent members.

The New Hampshire Convention, “for the Investigation, Discussion, and Decision of the Federal Constitution,” assembled at the courthouse, in Exeter, on Wednesday, the thirteenth day of February, A. D. 1788.

The population of the state at that time numbered about one hundred and thirty-four thousand.¹ One hundred and thirteen delegates were returned to the Convention from one hundred and seventy-five towns and places. It appears by the Journal that one of these, Mr. Nathaniel Ladd, of Epping, never took his seat; and that Haverhill, Piermont, Warren, Coventry, Lin-

¹ Belknap's History of New Hampshire, vol. 3, p. 236.

coln, and Franconia were unrepresented at the first session, and Lee, Peterborough, Society Land, Hancock, Antrim, Deering, and Hinsdale at the second.

Each town was usually represented by one delegate. Portsmouth, however, sent three and Londonderry two, while in some instances several small towns or places joined and sent but one, as in the case of Holderness, Campton, and Thornton, represented by Judge Samuel Livermore.

The names of these towns and places, and of their delegates as shown by the Journal of the Convention, were as follows:

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Portsmouth,	John Langdon, Esq ^r . ¹	y.

¹John Langdon, Esq., one of New Hampshire's most distinguished citizens, was born in Portsmouth, 1740; son of John L. and grandson of Tobias Langdon. He was one of the party which seized Fort William and Mary, at New Castle, 1774, and carried away the powder and military stores; a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1775 and 1776; representative

and speaker of the house of representatives, N. H., 1776 and 1777; he forwarded the expedition, under Gen. Stark, to cut off Burgoyne's march, 1777; judge of the court of common pleas; in 1779 he was continental agent in New Hampshire for building of public ships; and again delegate to congress in 1783. In 1784-85 he was a member of the N. H. senate, and

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Portsmouth,	John Pickering, Esq ^r . ¹	y.
“	Pierce Long, Esq ^r .	y.
Exeter,	John Taylor Gilman, Esq ^r . ²	y.

in the latter year was president of the state, and in November, 1788, was elected senator of the United States, and was the first president pro tem. of that body under the Federal Constitution. He was senator two terms. From 1805 to 1808, and again in 1810, he was governor of the state. Governor Langdon was eminent for his personal dignity, his patriotism, his capacity for offices of high honor and trust, and for his religious reverence and devotion. He was a member of the first church in Portsmouth. An excellent portrait of him is in the council-chamber of the state. He died Sept. 18, 1819, aged 78. — *Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 8.

¹John Pickering, Esq., was a native of Newington; graduated at Harvard college in 1761, and having devoted some time to theological studies, was offered the rectorship of an Episcopal church in England. He declined, and applied himself to the study of the law, in which he became eminent. He was attor-

ney-general, 1786; was a leading member of the Convention, 1791-2; repeatedly a member of the legislature; president of the senate in 1789; and governor, *ex officio*, of the state, on the election of Governor John Langdon to the senate of the United States. In 1790 he was appointed chief-justice of the superior court, which office he held five years. He was afterwards district judge of the United States. He received the degree of LL. D. from Harvard and Dartmouth colleges. He died April 11, 1805, aged 67. — *Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 30.

²John Taylor Gilman, Esq., of Exeter, was the son of Nicholas Gilman, who married Ann Taylor, a daughter of Rev. John Taylor, of Milton, Mass. He was born Dec. 19, 1753. With only the advantages of a common academic education, he rose to distinction in all the public offices of the state. The morning after the news of the battle of Lexington, he marched as a volunteer with a hundred others

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Londonderry,	Col ^o Daniel Runnels,	n.
“	Archib ^d McMurphy, Esq ^r .	n.
Chester,	Mr. Joseph Blanchard,	y.
Newington,	Benjamin Adams, Esq ^r .	y.
Greenland,	Dr. Ichabod Weeks,	y.
Rye,	Mr. Nathan Goss,	y.
New Castle,	Henry Prescott, Esq ^r .	y.
North Hampton,	Rev ^d Benja. Thurston, ¹	y.
Hampton,	Christopher Toppan, Esq ^r .	y.
Hampton Falls		
& Seabrook,	Rev ^d Sam ^l . Langdon, ²	y.
Stratham,	Mr. Jon ^a Wiggin,	y.
Kensington,	Jeremiah Fogg, Esq ^r .	y.

to Cambridge. In 1782 he was a member of congress; in 1783, treasurer of the state, and again in 1791-93. He filled the office of governor from 1794 to 1805; was again elected in 1813, 1814, and 1815. His long and useful services were gratefully acknowledged by the legislature in a farewell address. Politically he was known as a Federalist. He died in Exeter, September, 1828, aged 74. — *Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 9.

¹Rev. Benjamin Thurston was the fourth pastor of the church of North Hampton. He was born at Bradford, Mass., in 1750, and graduated at Harvard college in 1774. He was ordained

November 2, 1785, and continued his pastorate of this church about fifteen years, at the expiration of which period he resigned the position, and was dismissed October 27, 1800. He is said to have died near Raleigh, N. C., about 1804.

²Rev. Samuel Langdon, D. D., of Hampton Falls, was first settled over the North church at Portsmouth, twenty-seven years. He was afterwards elected to the office of president of Harvard college, which he held from 1774 to 1780. Eminent for learning, patriotism, and piety, he deceased Nov. 29, 1797, aged 75. — *Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 9.

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
S. Hampton & East Kingstown,	Mr. Benj ^a Clough,	n.
Kingstown,	Hon ^l Josiah Bartlett, Esq ^r . ¹	y.
Brentwood,	Doc ^t . Thomas Stow Ranney,	y.
Epping,	Mr. Nath ^l Ladd,	
New Market,	Nath ^l Rogers, Esq ^r .	y.
Nottingham,	Tho ^s . Bartlett, Esq ^r . ²	y.

¹Hon. Josiah Bartlett, Esq., takes rank with the most eminent of New Hampshire's sons. He was born in Amesbury, Mass., in 1729,—son of Stephen Bartlett. In his profession of medicine he acquired distinction, but was called from a successful practice to fill offices of trust and honor in the state and in the national congress. He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, July, 1776; chief-justice of the court of common pleas (N. H.) 1779; justice of the superior court, 1784,—chief-justice in 1788. In 1790 he was chosen by the legislature president of New Hampshire, and in 1791 he was elected to the same office by the people; and, under the revised constitution, he was chosen governor, 1792. He was the chief original founder and president of the New Hampshire Medical Society, 1791. He died May 19,

1795, aged 65.—*Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 9.

²Thomas Bartlett, Esq., of Nottingham, was among the leading patriots of Rockingham county. Aside from offices of minor grade, he was captain of the 5th company of "six weeks men" at Winter Hill in 1775; lieutenant-colonel in Col. Gilman's regiment at Rhode Island in 1778; from May, 1778, to January, 1779, a member of the Committee of Safety; colonel of one of the New Hampshire regiments for the defence of West Point in 1780. Under the law of 1792 he was made brigadier-general of the third brigade of New Hampshire militia. He was representative to the fourth Provincial Congress, at Exeter, May, 1775, and one of the committee to remove the public records from Portsmouth to Exeter, in June, 1775.

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Deerfield,	Doc ^t . Edm ^d Chadwick,	y.
Northwood, Epsom & Allenstown,	Maj ^r . James Gray,	y.
Chichester & Pittsfield,	Benj ^a Sias, Esq ^r .	n.
Canterbury,	Col ^o Jer ^e . Clough,	n.
Northfield,	Mr. Charles Glidden,	y.
Loudon,	Mr. Jon ^a Smith,	n.
Concord,	Cap ^t . Benj ^a Emery,	n.
Pembroke,	Samuel Daniels, Esq ^r .	
Candia,	Mr. Stephen Fifield,	n.
Raymond & Poplin, ¹	Mr. Thomas Chase,	n.
Hawke ² & San- down,	Mr. Nehemiah Sleeper,	n.
Hampstead,	John Calfe, Esq ^r . ³	y.

After the Revolution he was speaker of the house of representatives and justice of the court of common pleas. He died June 30, 1807, aged 59. —*Prov. and State Papers*, vol. 10, p. 9.

¹ Fremont.

² Danville.

³ John Calfe was, in some respects, a very remarkable man. Few were so generally known throughout the state, and no one was more highly esteemed. He was born at Newbury, Mass., on the 13th of June, 1741. He

removed to Hampstead in 1762. The next year he became a member of the church, and ten years later was elected a deacon. He was an under officer in one of the French and Indian wars, and was in active service about Lake Champlain. At a later period he was a captain and subsequently a major in the army of the Revolution. From May 28, 1778, to June 5, 1779, and from Jan. 22, 1780, to May 28, 1784, he was a member of the Committee of Safety. He was secretary of the New Hampshire Convention called to con-

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Atkinson & Plastow,	Col ^o . Benj ^a Stone,	n.
Salem,	Lt. Thomas Dow,	n.
Newtown,	Capt. Robert Steward,	n.
Wyndham,	James Bettan, Esq ^r .	y.
Pelham,	Rev ^d Amos Moody,	y.
Dover,	Doc ^t . Ezra Green, ¹	y.
Durham,	Exc ^y John Sullivan, Esq ^r . ²	y.

sider the ratification of the Federal Constitution, and in 1791-92 held the same office in the convention for the revision of the state constitution. For twenty-five years he was a justice of the court of common pleas for the county of Rockingham, and for a like period was clerk of the New Hampshire house of representatives. He was emphatically a man of the people. He was honest, capable, and judicious. An old writer has remarked that "no man more sacredly regarded the will of the people than he." He died at Hampstead, October 30, 1808, aged 67.—Compiled from *F. and Moore's Hist. Col.*

¹ Dr. Ezra Green, of Dover, was born in Malden, Mass.; graduated at Harvard college, 1765; joined the army under Col. James Reed, 1775; in June

of that year was appointed surgeon, and served on land till April, 1778. He was then appointed surgeon on board the ship *Ranger*, under command of Capt. John Paul Jones. Retiring from service in 1781, he settled at Dover as a merchant. He died, greatly respected, July 25, 1847, aged 101.—*Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 9.

² His Excellency John Sullivan, Esq., president of the Convention, was the son of John Sullivan, and was born in Dover, in that part called Somersworth, in 1741. He was a brother of His Excellency James Sullivan, of Massachusetts. Both received their education from their father. John commenced the practice of law at Durham, where he continued his residence till his death, and where his remains are interred. He early

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Sommersworth,	Moses Carr, Esq ^r .	y.
Rochester,	Mr. Barnabas Palmer,	n.
Barrington,	Maj ^r Samuel Hale,	y.
Sandborntown,	William Harper, Esq ^r .	n.
Gilmantown,	Hon ^b Joseph Badger, ¹	n.

evinced a military spirit, and was one of the brave band that seized Fort William and Mary at New Castle, 1774; was delegate to congress 1774-75, and in the latter year was appointed brigadier-general in the army of the Revolution, and in 1779 major-general. He was in command at Winter Hill, 1775; in Canada, 1776; distinguished in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, 1777; commanded the army in Rhode Island, 1778; and was at the head of the expedition against the western Indians in 1779. Filling numerous offices in the state as agent to settle the disputed bounds of the New Hampshire Grants, attorney-general, etc., in 1786 and 1787 he was chosen president of New Hampshire. In 1789 he was a presidential elector, and again that year chosen president of the state. He was appointed judge of the district court of New Hampshire by Washington, 1789, which office he held till his death, Jan. 23,

1795, at the age of 54. See an admirable portrait of him in the council-chamber, Concord, painted from a sketch by Col. Trumbull. — *Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 10.

¹Hon. Joseph Badger, Esq., son of Capt. Joseph Badger, an early settler in Gilmanton, was born in Bradford, Mass., Oct. 23, 1746. He was a man of great military ardor, and held offices in the militia for thirty years, passing from the rank of captain to that of brigadier-general. He was present at the capture of Burgoyne in 1779. After the war he served the town of Gilmanton as representative, and was a councillor six years,—1784, 1790-92, 1795-96. He was one of the founders of Gilmanton academy, gave the land on which it is located, and superintended the erection of the building. He died Jan. 15, 1809, aged 62. The late Governor William Badger was his son.—*Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 10.

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Lee, Madbury, Merrideth & New Hampton, Col ^o . Eben ^r . Smith, Sandwich & Tamworth, Moultonboro', Tuftonborough, Wolfboro' & Ossipee, Barnstead, New Durham & N. D. Gore, Wakefield, Middletown & Effingham, Conway, Eaton, Burton ² & Locations,	Cap ^t Reuben Hill, Rev ^d William Hooper, ¹ Daniel Bedee, Esq ^r . Mr. Nath ^l . Shannon. Mr. Jon ^a . Chesley, Mr. Nicholas Austin, David Page, Esq ^r .	n. y. y. n. n.

¹ Rev. William Hooper was born in Berwick, Maine, where he was ordained as a Calvinist Baptist minister on the seventeenth day of August, 1776. On the day of his ordination he baptized Benjamin Randall, afterwards the founder of the Freewill Baptist denomination in New Hampshire. He removed to Madbury, where he was highly esteemed as a man and a preacher. He had a small farm,

which, with shoemaking, occupied his leisure time. For twenty-five years he was the secretary of the New Hampshire Baptist Association. He was a man of middling size, vigorous constitution, strong mind, retentive memory, great decision of character, and inflexible integrity. He died in Madbury in 1837.—*Compiled from Plumer Papers.*

² Albany.

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Nottingham West, ¹	Mr. Eben ^r Cummings,	n.
Litchfield,	Mr. Daniel Bixby,	n.
Derryfield, ²	Lieu ^t . John Hall,	y.
Dunstable,	Deac ⁿ W ^m . Hunt,	n.
Merrimac,	Timothy Taylor, Esq ^r .	n.
Bedford,	Mr. Stephen Dole,	n.
Goffstown,	Mr. William Page,	n.
Holles,	Cap ^t . Daniel Kindrick,	n.
Amherst,	Joshua Atherton, Esq ^r . ⁴	n.
Raby ³ & Mason,	Deac ⁿ Amos Dakin,	y.
New Ipswich,	Cap ^t . Charles Barrett, ⁵	n.

¹ Hudson.

² Manchester.

³ Brookline.

⁴ Hon. Joshua Atherton was born in Harvard, Massachusetts, June 20, 1737; was a graduate of Harvard college, 1762; commenced the practice of law in Amherst, 1772; was father of Hon. Charles H. Atherton and grandfather of Hon. Charles G. Atherton, both distinguished as lawyers and civilians. In the Revolution, Mr. Atherton at first favored the loyalists, and for a time was imprisoned in Amherst jail, but subsequently regained the confidence of his fellow-citizens; was a member of the Convention that adopted the Federal Constitution, 1788, state senator, 1793, and attorney-general of the state 1793-1801. He died in Amherst, April

3, 1809, aged 71.—*Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 35.

⁵ Capt. Charles Barrett was born in 1740, and for many years was one of the most enterprising citizens of New Ipswich. During the Revolutionary period his loyalty to the patriot cause was for a time in doubt, but he regained public confidence, and was repeatedly honored by his fellow-citizens with important public offices. He was a state senator in 1791, 1793, and 1794, and at different times a representative and a councillor. He with associates erected the first cotton factory built in New Hampshire. On a plan of his own he constructed a canal in the midst of George's river, hoping thereby to render practicable the passage of boats from tide water to the town—an

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Francestown,	Mr. Thomas Bixby,	n.
Wilton,	Mr. William Abbott,	y.
Lyndeborough,	Doc ^t . Benja ^a Jones,	n.
Temple & Peterbor ^o Slip,	Deac ⁿ John Cragin,	n.
Peterbor ^o & Society Land,	Maj ^r . Nathan Dix,	
Hancock, Antrim & Deering,	Mr. Evan Dow,	
Hinnekar & Hillsborough,	Mr. Robert B. Wilkins, ¹	y.
New Boston,	John Cochran, Esq ^r .	n.
Weare,	Mr. Jonathan Dow,	n.
Hopkinton,	Mr. Joshua Morss,	y.
Dunbarton & Bow,	Mr. Jacob Green,	n.

enterprise which proved unsuccessful. He was a large owner of wild lands in Maine, and made many efforts for their occupancy and improvement. He was an impulsive man, and possessed great energy. He had but a limited education, yet his untiring activity and business experience supplid in part this want. Few persons, if any, appreciated more fully the value of early mental training, and he became one of the founders of New Ipswich academy. He died Dec. 21, 1808.—*Compiled from History of New Ipswich.*

¹ Mr. Robert B. Wilkins, of

Henniker, a native of Amherst, entered the army at the age of sixteen, and was in the battle of Bunker Hill—wounded; in the Continental army, in Col. Scammel's regiment, he was promoted to a lieutenancy. He served under Gen. Lafayette, of whom he was a great admirer. On his visit to Concord, in June, 1825, the general met Lieut. Wilkins and recognized him. Receiving a pension from the government, he spent the later years of his life with his family in Concord, but died in Boston, August, 1832, aged 77.—*Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 10.

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Salisbury,	Col ^o Ebenezer Webster, ¹	
Boscawen,	Col ^o Joseph Gerrish,	y.
Fishersfield, ² Sutton & Warner,	Nath ^l Bean, Esq ^r .	n.
New London, Andover & Gore,		
Charlestown,	Benja ^a West, Esq ^r . ³	y.
Alstead,	Cap ^t . Oliver Shepherd,	y.
Keene,	Rev ^d Aaron Hall, ⁴	y.
Swanzey,	Maj ^r . Elisha Whitcomb,	y.
Richmond,	Mr. Jon ^a . Gaskill,	n.

¹ Col. Ebenezer Webster, of Salisbury, was the father of Hon. Ezekiel and Daniel Webster. He was born in Kingston in 1740. Settling in Salisbury, he served in the "Seven Years War" against the French and Indians; in the Revolution he was captain of a company; in 1785-99 was a state senator, and also 1790-91. He was a judge of the court of common pleas for Hillsborough county from 1791 to 1806. It does not appear that he voted on the adoption of the Constitution. He died in 1806, aged 67.—*Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 10.

² Newbury.

³ Benjamin West, Esq., of Charlestown, was son of Rev.

Thomas West and brother of Rev. Dr. Samuel West, of Boston. He was born April 8, 1746; graduated at Harvard college, 1768. He resided in Charlestown more than forty years in the practice of law, and died July, 1817, aged 71. He ranked among the first of his profession.—*Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 11.

⁴ Rev. Aaron Hall, of Keene, a native of Cheshire, Conn., born in 1751, was a graduate of Yale college, 1772; ordained February 19, 1778; died Aug. 12, 1814, after a ministry of thirty-six years, aged 63.—*Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 11.

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Jaffrey,	Mr. Abel Parker,	n.
Winchester,	Cap ^t . Moses Chamberlain,	y.
Westmoreland,	Mr. Archilaus Temple,	y.
Chesterfield,	Doc ^t . Solomon Harvey,	n.
Rindge,	Cap ^t . Othniel Thomas,	n.
Walpole,	{ Gen ^l . Benj ^a Bellows, ²	y.
	{ × Mr. Aaron Allen,	

¹ Hon. Abel Parker, son of Samuel Parker and Mary (Proctor) Robbins, was born in Westford, Mass., March 25, 1753. At the age of fourteen he removed with his father to Pepperell, Mass. He was a soldier in the battle of Bunker Hill, and was wounded. He was subsequently a sergeant in Capt. Job Shattuck's company, of Col. Reed's regiment. Upon the expiration of his term of service he returned to his farm in Pepperell, and was married, Oct. 14, 1777, to Edith, daughter of Jedediah Jewett, of P.—a woman of marked religious character. On the 5th of May, 1780, he removed to Jaffrey, where he cleared a farm, which he occupied until 1805, when he again removed to the centre of the town, where he spent the remainder of his life. He was a tall man, of stately appearance, dignified, grave in his deportment, highly respected and influential. He

held many town and state offices, and was a judge of probate for twenty years. He was also, for a time, postmaster of Jaffrey. He was a deeply religious man, and a member of various benevolent societies. He died in 1831, aged 78 years.

J. B. W.

² Gen. Benjamin Bellows, of Walpole, son of Col. Benjamin, was born Oct. 6, 1740. He was greatly respected as a citizen, and honored with many public offices,—as representative, senator, and councillor. He was president of the electoral college when George Washington was elected president, in 1789, and again, in 1797, when John Adams was elected. In the Revolution he commanded a regiment; was present at the surrender of Burgoyne. He died in Walpole, June, 1802, aged 61. — *State and Prov. Papers*, vol. x, p. 11.

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Claremont,	Deac ⁿ . Matthias Stone,	n.
Cornish & Grantham,	Gen ^l . Jonathan Chase,	y.
Newport & Croyden,	Mr. John Remmele,	n.
Acworth, Lempster, & Marlow,	Daniel Grout, Esq ^r .	n.
Wendell ¹ & Unity,	Mr. Moses True,	n.
Surry & Gilson,	Col ^o . Jonathan Smith,	
Stoddard & Washington,	Thomas Pinneman, Esq ^r .	n.
Dublin & Packersfield, ²	Sam ^l . Griffin, Esq ^r .	y.
Marlborough,	Mr. Jedediah Tainter,	n.
Fitz William,	L ^t . Caleb Winch,	n.
Plainfield,	Maj ^r . Joseph Kimball,	y.
Hinsdale,	Mr. Uriel Evans,	
Protectworth, ³		
Holderness, Camp- ton, & Thornton,	Hon ^l . Samuel Livermore, ⁴	y.

¹ Sunapee.² Nelson.³ Springfield.

⁴Hon. Samuel Livermore, Esq., president of the Convention, was probably a descendant of John Livermore, who was in Watertown, Mass., 1642. He was born in Waltham, Mass., May 14, 1732, O. S.; graduated

at Princeton, New Jersey, 1752; came to New Hampshire 1757, and established himself in Portsmouth; for several years was judge-advocate of the admiralty court, and in 1769 was the king's attorney-general for New Hampshire. About 1765 he settled in Holderness, Grafton county. Representative from that town, attorney-general of the state be-

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
Plymouth, Rum- ney, & Went- worth,	Francis Worster, Esq ^r .	y.
New Chester ¹ , Al- exandra, & Cockermouth, ²	Mr. Thomas Crawford,	y.
Enfield, Canaan, Cardigan, ³ Dor- chester & Graf- ton,	Jesse Johnson, Esq ^r .	y.
Hanover,	Jonathan Freeman, Esq ^r .	y.
Lebanon,	Col ^o . Elisha Payne,	y.
Lyme & Orford,	Wm. Simpson, Esq ^r .	y.
Haverhill, Pier- mont, Warren, and Coventry, ⁴	Col ^o . Joseph Hutchins,	n.
Lincoln & Fran- conia,	Capt. Isaac Patterson,	y.

fore the Revolution, and after-
ward, 1776. In 1779 he was ap-
pointed commissioner to support
and defend the claims to the
New Hampshire grants; mem-
ber of congress 1780-82, and
then chief-justice of the state
1782-90, as successor of Hon.
Meshech Weare. He was a
member of the Federal Con-
vention in 1788; again elected
to congress 1790-93; United
States Senator six years. He

received the honorary degree of
LL. D. from Dartmouth college
1792. He died at Holderness,
May, 1803, in the 72d year of
his age.—*Prov. and State Pa-
pers*, vol. x, p. 37.

¹ Hill.

² Groton.

³ Orange.

⁴ Benton.

Names of towns and places represented.	Names of delegates to the Convention.	Vote of each on Ratification.
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Bath, Lyman, Landaff, Little- ton & Dalton.	Majr. Samuel Young,	y.
Lancaster, North- umberland, Stratford, Dart- mouth, ¹ Piercy, ² Cockburn, ³ & Coleburn, ⁴	Cap ^t . John Weeks,	y.

¹ Jefferson.

³ Columbia.

² Stark.

⁴ Colebrook.





CHAPTER III.

FIRST SESSION OF THE CONVENTION.

Examination and discussion of the Constitution. Ratification found impossible. Adjournment to a future day proposed, opposed, and carried.

The New Hampshire Convention for the “Investigation, Discussion, and Decision of the Federal Constitution,” assembled at the court-house in Exeter, on Wednesday, the thirteenth day of February, A. D. 1788. A majority of the members were undoubtedly opposed to the Constitution. It has been alleged that before the delegates had been chosen, active Anti-Federalists¹ had visited more or less of the towns which were off the more public lines of travel, and induced their citizens, who as yet knew little

¹Those favoring and those opposing the ratification of the Constitution were respectively designated as Federalists and Anti-Federalists.

regarding its provisions, to instruct their delegates to vote against it.¹

The talent of the Convention was decidedly on the side of the Federalists, and a majority of the ablest members were in favor of ratification.² His Excellency John Sullivan, Hon. Samuel Livermore, Chief-Justice of the Superior Court, Hon. John Taylor Gilman, Hon. John Langdon, as well as other members of commanding influence, were outspoken and earnest for its adoption. These all worked in harmony to that end.

The opposition was led by Hon. Joshua Atherton, who was earnestly supported by Captain Charles Barrett, Hon. Abel Parker, Rev. William M. Hooper, Deacon Matthias Stone, and others.

On the first day about fifty members were present. These chose Hon. Josiah Bartlett chairman, and appointed Hon. Samuel Livermore, Hon. John Taylor Gilman, and Benjamin West, Esq., a committee to examine the returns of the elections of the several members, and to prepare and report to the Convention a code of

¹*Massachusetts Centinel*, Feb. 27, 1788.

²Memoir of Joshua Atherton, by Hon. C. H. Atherton.

rules for the regulation of its proceedings. They then adjourned to meet again the next day, at ten o'clock A. M.

Thursday, February 14. Upon the reassembling of the Convention, about one hundred members were found to be present. It was permanently organized by the choice of Hon. John Calfe secretary, and His Excellency John Sullivan president. At the close of the forenoon session it adjourned to meet again at the meeting-house,¹ at three o'clock P. M., where the subsequent meetings of this session were held.

In the afternoon the committee previously appointed reported the following rules, which were adopted by the Convention:

1st. That as it is essential to the public interest, so it shall be considered and enjoined as the Incumbent duty of each member of this Convention seasonably and punctually to attend in his place and not absent himself without leave.

2d. That freedom of deliberation, speech and debate in the Convention be allowed to each member thereof; yet no member shall by speech or behaviour in Convention give just occasion of offence to another.

3d. That any member disposed to make a motion or

¹This occupied the site of the present meeting-house of the First Congregational Society, by which it was superseded in 1798.

speaking to a matter in debate, shall rise from his seat and address the President; but on being called to order by the President, he shall be silent; yet if such silenced member shall conceive himself injured thereby, the President shall take a vote of the Convention thereon, and such member shall submit to their determination.

4th. No member shall speak more than twice to any subject in debate until each member have an opportunity to offer his opinion.

5th. No motion from one member shall be received or debated unless seconded by another.

6th. When a motion is regularly before the Convention, it shall at any time, at the request of a member, be reduced to writing by the person making it.

7th. On the question for adopting the Federal Constitution, and on that only, the yeas and nays may be taken if desired by a member.

8th. When it shall appear that any person returned is not legally chosen, he shall be dismissed.

9th. That in determining any question the votes of a majority of the members present shall be necessary, excepting such members as may by the consent of the Convention be excused from voting, on their giving satisfactory reasons therefor.

10th. That a motion to postpone any Question or to adjourn shall take place of any other motion.

11th. That no vote be reconsidered when there is a less number of members present than there was at passing the same.

After ordering a new town-meeting for the election of a delegate from Newington, Mr. Livermore moved to proceed to a consideration of the

new Constitution by paragraphs. Mr. Pickering thereupon urged that it would be most expedient "to take a review of the old Constitution, point out its defects and the necessity of having a new one adopted, preparatory to any other proceeding." The Convention, however, did not concur in this opinion, and, having sustained Mr. Livermore's motion, proceeded to the investigation of the proposed Constitution by paragraphs.¹

The first section of the first article caused no discussion; but the second, providing for the election of representatives in congress for a term of two years, gave rise to an animated debate, which was continued through the remainder of the day and occupied a part of the next. Mr. Atherton vigorously opposed this section upon grounds similar to those which had been urged in the Massachusetts Convention. He was answered by Mr. Livermore, Mr. Langdon, Mr. Pickering, Rev. Dr. Langdon, and Rev. Mr. Thurston.

The examination of the proposed Constitution thus commenced was continued from day to day, Sunday excepted, for the ensuing seven days. For a time the friends of the Constitution had

¹*Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser* of Feb. 21, 1788.

hopes of securing its ratification without a recess of the Convention. Although the greater number of the members from the upper part of the state came down rather opposed to its adoption, yet on the final question it was hoped that a majority would be found to favor it.¹ But these hopes proved delusive. While some of the members, who came to the Convention instructed to vote against the Constitution, had been led by the discussions to a change of opinion and now favored it, they still felt bound by their instructions, and frankly said that if a final vote was to be taken before they had opportunity to consult their constituents their vote would be adverse to ratification.² This would secure a rejection of

¹*Massachusetts Centinel* of Feb. 23, 1788.

²At a legal town-meeting, held in Warner on the twenty-fourth day of January, 1788, it was "Voted not too Except the new Constitution."—*Harriman's History of Warner*, p. 253.

In 1788 he [Joshua Atherton] was chosen a delegate to the Convention to ratify or reject the proposed Constitution of the United States. Acting upon his own convictions of right and the instructions of his con-

stituents, he opposed its ratification.—*Secomb's Hist. of Amherst*, p. 860.

In this town party feelings ran high, and, strange to say, some of those who had been most loyal to a regal government, became most radical in their democracy. The opposing candidates for the Convention on its acceptance were Hon. Timothy Farrar, a strong Federalist, and Hon. Charles Barrett. After a hard struggle, the latter was elected. He was

the Constitution, and prejudice unfavorably its success in those states where conventions were yet to be held. At the same time the declaration indicated that some of them would array themselves with the friends of the new system of government, could they free themselves of the shackles which bound them. Under these circumstances it seemed to the friends of the Constitution that the wisest course to be pursued was,—

1st. To secure, if possible, a recess of the Convention.

2d. During that time to effect, as far as practicable, a change in public opinion favorable to the great cause which they had so much at heart, particularly in the towns represented by the delegates above mentioned. Their first effort, therefore, was to secure an adjournment to a future day sufficiently distant to give time for the contemplated effort.

strongly opposed to the Constitution, and voted against it to the last, often declaring that presidents would prove nothing less than four-year-old kings, and finally kings for life.—*History of New Ipswich*, p. 116.

It was discussed in town-meeting, and the town voted

not to accept said Constitution, and chose a committee of nine to give their delegates instructions to oppose its adoption by the Convention. The committee reported a list of objections, which were by the town forwarded to the Convention.—*Fox's Hist. of Dunstable*, p. 188.

Mr. Langdon accordingly introduced a resolution to that effect, and urged its passage with his wonted force and eloquence. He was earnestly opposed by Mr. Atherton in a speech in which he pointed out objections to the adoption of the Constitution, and endeavored to show that the fruits of ratification would be "tyranny in the extreme and despotism with a vengeance." Mr. Hooper, Mr. Parker, and Deacon Manasseh Stone also opposed the resolution. The speech of Mr. Atherton was answered by Mr. Thurston. After a sharp debate, the resolution was carried by a slender majority of five, fifty-six having voted for and fifty-one against its adoption.¹ This ended the first session, the Convention adjourning to meet at Concord on the eighteenth day of the following June.²

¹*Massachusetts Centinel*, March 1, 1788.

²The reason for the course taken at this time by the Federalists is very plainly stated in a letter of John Langdon to Rufus King, dated Feb. 23, 1788. In it he says that "contrary to the expectation of almost every man of reflection at our first meeting, a majority appeared against the plan, a

great part of whom had instructions to vote against it. However, after spending ten days on the arguments, a number of opponents came to me and said they were convinced, and should be very unhappy to vote against the Constitution, which they (however absurd) must do in case the question was called for. I therefore moved for the adjournment, which was carried, though much opposed by the

That this adjournment was a decided victory of the friends of the Constitution, however at first generally regarded, was soon as plain as the daylight. It afforded time for an enlightenment of the people of the more inland towns, whose law-abiding communities, devoted almost wholly to agriculture, felt but little the importance of the possession of enlarged power by the general government, and knew but little of the provisions of the proposed Constitution.

However "absurd" the reasoning of these members may have been, it eventually secured to New Hampshire the honor of being the ninth instead of the seventh state to ratify the Constitution.

other side. This question determined a majority in favor of the Constitution, had it not been

for their instructions." — *Bancroft's Hist. of Constitution*, vol. 2, p. 462.





CHAPTER IV.

DURING THE INTERIM.

Friends of the Constitution at first disappointed by the adjournment. Progress of Ratification in other states. Efforts of the Federalists during the recess.

The adjournment of the New Hampshire Convention without decisive action was the first check which the cause of an efficient national government had thus far encountered. It was, and very naturally, a source of discouragement to its friends in other parts of the country, and its influence upon the other Conventions yet to take action was somewhat feared. On the ninth of April, Gen. Henry Knox wrote to Gen. Sullivan that "the unfortunate check which the new Constitution has received in New Hampshire has given new life and spirits to the opponents of the proposed system, and dampened the ardor of its friends."

But one of the closing paragraphs of the same letter shows the confidence in ultimate triumph in that state by the Federalists who were on the ground and knew the exact condition of things there. "I am happy," says Knox, "that you have such confidence in the future conduct of your Convention. I hope to God you may not be disappointed."¹

In fact, all who understood the reasons for the adjournment and the drift of public opinion in the state felt confident that the Convention would ratify the Constitution upon its reassembling in June. But some ardent Federalists without the state did not understand these, or that the little majority of five, by which it was carried, indicated a victory and not a defeat. Some of these expressed their disappointment in words more censorious than kind.

A writer in the *Connecticut Courant* of March 3, 1788, thus addresses the people of New Hampshire :

Though separated from the government of Britain at no less price than the blood of your bravest sons, you border on her dominions. She is our enemy, and wishes nothing more than your submission to her laws

¹ Amory's Life of John Sullivan, p. 232.

and to the will of her proud servants. Her force may be easily pointed through your whole territory, and a few regiments would effectually banish resistance. New Hampshire, though growing in population and among the first states in personal bravery, cannot yet stand alone. Should a disunion of the states tempt Britain to make another effort for the recovery of her former greatness, you will be the first to fall under her sway. In such event, you will have nothing to expect from the other states. Dispirited in a fruitless attempt to unite in some plan of general government and protection, they will say, Let the dissenting states abide the consequences of their own false opinions. Though such a reply might not be wise, it would be exactly conformable to what we have found in human nature, and nature will ever have its course, let policy be what it may.

But nearer home the true situation was better understood. On the twenty-seventh of February, six days after the adjournment, the *Massachusetts Centinel*, a paper which kept itself accurately informed of the action of our Convention, gave to its readers a full account of the cause and object of the adjournment, under an illustrated caption consisting of six upright columns, inscribed respectively Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and of a seventh half way up representing New Hampshire, to which was

attached the motto, "It will rise." It closes its article by saying,—

We may venture to assert that the cause of Federalism in New Hampshire will not suffer a diminution, and that their pillar of the Federal Edifice, **THOUGH NOW IT RESTETH, WILL MOST ASSUREDLY RISE.**¹

Thus far the Constitution had been ratified by six of the nine states required to render it operative,—by Delaware, December 6, 1787, by a unanimous vote ; by Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787, by a vote of forty-six to twenty-three, or two to one ; by New Jersey, December 18, 1787, and by Georgia, January 2, 1788, by unanimous votes of the Conventions of both states ; by Connecticut, January 9, 1788, by a vote of one hundred and twenty-eight yeas to forty nays, or more than three to one ; and by Massachusetts, February 6, 1788, where the yeas had been one hundred and eighty-seven and the nays one hundred and sixty-eight, a majority of

¹ A favorite illustration of the progress of ratification by the different states adopted by the newspapers of the time was a row of perpendicular columns inscribed with the names of the states which had ratified the Constitution. The capitals of

these were connected with one another by semi-circular lines, indicating arches, the head of each being ornamented by a star. Appropriate mottoes in poetry or Latin often enhanced the attractiveness of these illustrations.

nineteen. In other words, in three of these states ratification had been carried unanimously, and in the three others it had received three hundred and sixty-one out of an aggregate of five hundred and ninety-two votes, or sixty per cent. of this last mentioned number.

What influence the small majority for the Constitution so recently given by Massachusetts may have had in New Hampshire it is impossible now to say. That it was of considerable potency may be fairly inferred from the close proximity and intimate relations of the two states.

During the recess, the Federalists of New Hampshire were active in their exertions in behalf of ratification. "While the long winter intercepted the labors of husbandry, the firesides of the freeholders in its hundreds of townships became the scene for discussing the merits of the Federal Constitution, with the delegates of their choice and with one another."¹

They were greatly cheered by the results of the Conventions held in Maryland and South Carolina,—in the first of which ratification was carried on the twenty-sixth day of April by a

¹ Bancroft's History of the Constitution, vol. 2, p. 318.

vote of sixty to eleven, nearly six to one ; and in the latter by one hundred and forty-one to sixty-three, or about two to one. Mr. Bancroft says that “when the astounding news reached New Hampshire, her people grew restless to be the state yet needed to assure the new bond of union, but for that palm she must run a race with Virginia.”¹

¹ Bancroft's History of the Constitution, vol. 2, p. 294.





CHAPTER V.

SECOND SESSION OF THE CONVENTION.

General interest in its proceedings. First and second days. Appointment of a committee to propose amendments. Mr. Atherton's motion, to ratify conditionally, defeated. Judge Livermore's motion. Motion to adjourn defeated. The main question put. The final vote.

On the eighteenth day of June, 1788, agreeably to its adjournment, the Convention reassembled in the old North Meeting House in Concord, with a full knowledge that the favorable action of but one more state was requisite to render operative the new constitution. Many of the members came from constituencies whose sentiments had grown more favorable to ratification during the previous few months. The Virginia Convention had been in session since the sixth of the month, and that of New York had

come together on the seventeenth. Various considerations had delayed final action in the former, and there had yet been no time for it in the latter.

Should the little mountainous state of New Hampshire, the uppermost of the whole thirteen, which skirted the Atlantic coast from the frozen north to the sunny south, dare contest with these two great commonwealths the honor of inaugurating the most important government of modern times—an honor which was to grow brighter and more bright as the decades and the centuries rolled on? Should she aspire to become the key-stone of the great national arch, which it now only lacked to become self-sustaining?

So great was the interest in the result of this session of the New Hampshire Convention, that persons from different sections of the state, as well as others from beyond its borders, flocked to Concord, and, filling the wide galleries of the old meeting-house from day to day, watched the proceedings with breathless interest. Gen. Sullivan, John Langdon, then governor-elect of the state, Judge Livermore, supported by the fifty and odd members in sympathy with them, were not the men to neglect a grand opportunity.

The opponents of the Constitution, led by Joshua Atherton, but less ably supported than were the leaders of the Federalists, were active, strong, and determined. A contest, to be as valiantly fought as its issue proved glorious, now began, and God was doubtless invoked to aid the right.

Wednesday, June 18th. The first day of the Convention was occupied in the settlement of disputed claims to seats, and in a general discussion of the Constitution.

Thursday, June 19th. The second day was mainly devoted to a general discussion similar to that of the day before.

Friday, June 20th. During the forenoon of the third day, a committee of fifteen, consisting of John Langdon of Portsmouth, Mr. Bartlett,¹ Joseph Badger of Gilmanton, John Sullivan of Durham, Joshua Atherton of Amherst, Thomas Dow of Salem, Benjamin Bellows of Walpole, Benjamin West of Charlestown, Samuel Livermore of Holderness, Francis Worcester of Plymouth, Abel Parker of Jaffrey, John

¹There were two Bartletts in the Convention, viz., Hon. Josiah Bartlett of Kingston, and Thomas Bartlett, Esq., of Nottingham. The records do not indicate which of these was a member of this committee. It was probably the former.

Pickering of Portsmouth, Mr. Smith,¹ William Hooper of Madbury, and Charles Barrett of New Ipswich, were appointed "to consider and report upon such articles as they shall think proper to be proposed as amendments to the Federal Constitution, and lay the same before this Convention."

At the afternoon session, Mr. Langdon, for the committee, made a report recommending twelve amendments.² This report was accepted, and the amendments were adopted by the Convention. Mr. Atherton then moved "that this Convention ratify the proposed Constitution, together with the amendments, but that said Constitution do not operate in New Hampshire without said amendments," and his motion was seconded by Mr. Parker.

This motion of Mr. Atherton's marks the beginning of the final struggle. It proved sharp, brief, and conclusive. The Federalists saw instantly that the adoption of Mr. Atherton's motion was tantamount to a rejection of the Constitution by New Hampshire, and would be fatal

¹ Neither does it appear by the Journal whether Col. Ebenezer Smith of Meredith, or Mr. Jonathan Smith of Loudon, was

designated to serve upon this committee. It was most likely the former.

² See page 49.

to all their hopes. After some debate, Mr. Livermore, who was as clear-headed and vigilant as he was ready and earnest, made a motion, which was seconded by Mr. Bartlett, "to postpone the motion made by Mr. Atherton, to make way for the following motion, viz., That in case the Constitution be adopted, that the amendments reported by the committee be recommended to congress—which motion of Mr. Atherton being postponed, adjourned to nine o'clock to-morrow morning."¹

This was a test vote, and indicated clearly the feeling of the Convention. The majority, though small, was unmistakably for ratification. But Mr. Atherton and his friends were not yet satisfied, and the contest was to continue a little longer.

Saturday, June 21. Upon the reassembling of the Convention, the unfinished debate of the day before was resumed. Pending this, Mr. Atherton moved "that the Convention adjourn to some future day." Mr. Hooper seconded the motion, but it was negatived by the Convention. Thereupon a motion was made by Mr. Livermore, and seconded by Mr. Langdon, "that the

¹ Prov. State Papers, vol. 10, p. 18.

main question be now put for the adoption of the Constitution." The supreme moment had now come. As the roll-call proceeded, Messrs. Langdon, Pickering, Long, Gilman, Blanchard, Adams, Weeks, Goss, Prescut, Thurston, Toppan, Langdon of Hampton Falls, Wiggin, Fogg, Rogers, T. Bartlett, Chadwick, Gray, Glidden, Calfe, Bettan, Moody, Green, Sullivan, Carr, Hale, Bedee, Shannon, Wilkins, Morss, Gerrish, West, Shepherd, Hall, Whitecomb, Chamberlain, Temple, Bellows, Chase, Griffin, Kimball, Livermore, J. Bartlett, Ranney, Chesley, Hall, Dakin, Abbot, Worster, Crawford, Johnson, Freeman, Payne, Simpson, Patterson, Young, and Weeks, answered Yea;—57 Yeas.

Messrs. Runnels, McMurphy, B. Clough, J. Clough, Sias, Smith, Emery, Fifield, Chase, Sleeper, B. Stone, Thomas Dow, Steward, Palmer, Harper, Badger, Hooper, Austin, Page, Cummings, D. Bixby, Hunt, Taylor, Dole, Page, Kindrick, Atherton, Barrett, T. Bixby, Jones, Cragin, Cochran, Jona. Dow, Green, Bean, Gaskill, Parker, Harvey, Thomas, M. Stone, Remmelee, Grout, True, Penniman, Tainter, Winch, Hutchins, answered Nay;—47 Nays.

And Messrs. Daniels, Ebenezer Smith, Webster, and Jonathan Smith, marked in Journal as present, did not vote;¹—4. Thus the Federal

¹ Where these four gentlemen were at the time the vote was taken, or why they did not vote, we are unable to say. There is a pretty well authenticated tradition that a certain prominent Federalist of Concord gave a dinner party on the last day of the session, at which several members, reckoned as opposed to ratification, were present, and discussing the dinner, when the final vote was taken.

The following letter from Hon. G. W. Nesmith throws light upon the course taken on this occasion by Col. Ebenezer Webster:

August 25, 1888.

FRIEND WALKER: I send down to you such information as I have in relation to Judge Ebenezer Webster, who acted as a delegate from Salisbury in the Convention of 1788, called to ratify the United States Constitution. The records I furnish are authentic. The statement as to the conduct of Judge Webster, in declining to vote for the ratification of the Constitution, is founded upon tradition, and is, of course, made, subject to some doubt.

At a town-meeting holden on the 16th day of February, A. D. 1788, Capt. Ebenezer Webster was chosen moderator of said meeting.

“Voted to choose a Delegate to meet in Convention at Exeter to consult or take in consideration the Constitution as proposed by the Federal Convention.

“Ebenezer Webster was appointed Delegate.

“Proceeded to choose a Committee to consult and advise with said Delegate in relation to the proposed Convention. Joseph Bean, Esq., Jonathan Fifield, Jonathan Cram, Capt. Luke Wilder, John Collins, Edward Eastman, Ensign John C. Gale, Capt. Robt. Smith, Leonard Judkins, Deacon Jacob True, John Smith, Lt. Bean, Lt. Jos. Severance were chosen said Committee.”

The aforesaid committee was selected from the early and influential settlers of Salisbury, and were the neighbors and friends of Capt. Webster. The Convention met in February at Exeter, and after a long debate came to no decisive vote: ad-

Constitution was ratified by New Hampshire by a majority of ten votes.

A local analysis of this vote may be interesting. A division of the state into northern and southern sections by a line running along the south shore of Winnepesaukee lake and continuing west to Connecticut river, and a further

journeyed to meet at Concord in the following month of June. A short time before the Convention met at Concord, Judge Webster had an interesting interview with his committee at Salisbury, when the merits and demerits of the Constitution were discussed. Our information is derived from an intelligent son of one of that committee. He remarked that Judge Webster favored the adoption of the U. S. Constitution, as it offered many advantages over the confederacy, and cured many of the defects of that form of government. Moreover, Washington, in whom he had implicit confidence, had labored hard to bring it into existence, and he was willing to trust to his wise counsels and action always. But the opinion of the Advisory Committee, or a majority of them, was adverse to the new Constitution. The strongest and leading argument urged against it was derived

from the fact that the Constitution sanctioned or tolerated human slavery. Hon. Jos. Atherton, of Amherst, had used this argument in opposition to its adoption with much force and effect. It was difficult to meet and overcome the power and influence of his reasoning on this topic, when it was in close union and deep sympathy with the great majority of the Northern people. It is not surprising that we find, according to the Records of the Convention, that Judge Webster did not vote at all, when the final vote of delegates was taken in Convention. We do find him a strong supporter of the Constitution after its adoption, and early one of the electors of Washington, appointed by the people of this state, to the presidency. Mr. Webster was state senator, elected by the people of Hillsborough county in 1786-90.

Truly yours,

GEO. W. NESMITH.

division of the latter into south-eastern and south-western sections by Merrimack river, will render such an analysis easy.

The votes cast by delegates were,—

From the south-eastern,	48
	—
For the Constitution,	30
Against it,	18
	—
Majority for it,	12
From the south-western,	42
	—
For the Constitution,	16
Against it,	26
	—
Majority against it,	10
From the northern,	14
	—
For the Constitution,	11
Against it,	3
	—
Majority for it,	8

The south-eastern section comprised the oldest part of New Hampshire: its interests were, to some extent, commercial, and many parts of it were in near proximity to the most frequented lines of travel to other states. Here the provisions of the Constitution were best understood,

and the necessity of a national government of enlarged powers was most strongly felt. Its vote, therefore, causes no surprise.

The towns of the south-western section, for the most part off the general lines of travel, whose settlements were more recent, and whose people were devoted almost entirely to agriculture, felt less the want of a vigorous general government than did their neighbors across the Merrimack. Their vote, therefore, awakens little surprise.¹

But it is surprising that the northern section, by far the most remote, and the newest, which felt but faintly the pulsations of outside opinion, should, out of a total vote of only fourteen, have given a majority for the Constitution less by only two than that of the whole state. This fact was doubtless very largely due to the great influence of Judge Livermore. It was his section, and his neighbors naturally followed his lead in the Convention.

If we examine the vote on ratification with

¹A recent writer has remarked that if a line be drawn through the original thirteen states parallel to and fifty miles distant from the Atlantic coast, it will

be found that most of the opposition to the Constitution came from the section west of it, and its greatest support from that east of it.

reference to the whole population of the state, assuming this to be the same as shown two years afterwards by the census of 1790, from which it could not greatly vary, it will appear that the fifty-seven delegates who voted for ratification represented seventy-six thousand and ninety-one persons, that the forty-seven delegates who voted against it represented fifty-seven thousand six hundred and forty-one, and that the four who did not vote represented eight thousand two hundred and eighty-seven; or, in other words, that of the population represented in the final vote, not quite fifty-seven per cent. was carried for the support of the Constitution, and a little over forty-three per cent. against it.

By counties it stood as follows:

	For.	Against.
Rockingham,	26,728	14,252
Strafford,	12,812	9,893
Hillsborough,	8,730	19,819
Cheshire,	15,621	12,405
Grafton,	12,200	1,272
	<hr/> 76,091	<hr/> 57,641



CHAPTER VI.

CLOSING WORK OF THE CONVENTION.

The formal announcement to Congress of its action by the Convention. The leaders of the two parties.

The only business now remaining was for the Convention to prepare a formal announcement of its action, to be transmitted to the congress of the United States. By whom this was to be drafted, whether by the officers of the Convention or by a committee appointed for the purpose, the Journal does not say. It simply records the communication, which was as follows:

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

In Convention of the Delegates of the People of the State of New Hampshire, June 21st, 1788:—

The Convention having impartially discussed and fully considered the Constitution for the United States of America, reported to Congress by the Convention of Delegates from the United States of America, and submitted to us by a Resolution of the General Court of

said State passed the fourteenth day of December last past, and acknowledging with grateful hearts the Goodness of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe in affording the People of the United States, in the course of his Providence, an opportunity, deliberately and peaceably, without fraud or surprise, of entering into an explicit and solemn compact with each other, by assenting to and ratifying a new Constitution, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of Liberty to themselves and their posterity, Do in the name and in behalf of the people of the State of New Hampshire, assent to and ratify the said Constitution for the United States of America; and as it is the opinion of this Convention, that certain amendments and alterations in the said Constitution would remove the fears and quiet the apprehensions of many of the good people of this State, and more effectually guard against an undue administration of the federal Government, the Convention do therefore recommend that the following alterations and provisions be introduced into the said Constitution :

First, That it be explicitly declared that all powers not expressly and particularly delegated by the aforesaid Constitution, are reserved to the several States to be by them exercised.

Secondly, That there shall be one Representative to every thirty Thousand persons according to the Census mentioned in the Constitution, until the whole number of Representatives amounts to two hundred.

Thirdly, That Congress do not exercise the power vested in them by the fourth Section of the first Article, but in cases when a State shall neglect or refuse to

make the regulations therein mentioned, or shall make regulations subversive of the rights of the people to a free and equal representation in Congress, nor shall Congress in any case make regulations contrary to a free and equal representation.

Fourthly, That Congress do not lay direct Taxes but when the money arising from the impost excise and their other resources are insufficient for the public exigencies; nor then, until Congress shall have first made a requisition upon the States to assess, Levy and pay their respective proportions of such requisition agreeably to the census fixed in the said Constitution, in such way and manner as the Legislature of the State shall think best; and in such case, if any State shall neglect, then Congress may assess and Levy such State's proportion, together with the interest thereon at the rate of six pr. cent pr. Annum from the time of payment prescribed in such requisition.

Fifthly, That Congress erect no company of Merchants with exclusive advantages of commerce.

Sixthly, That no person shall be tried for any crime by which he may incur an infamous punishment or loss of life until he be first indicted by a grand jury—except in such cases as may arise in the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

Seventhly, All common law cases between citizens of different States shall be commenced in the Common Law Courts of the respective States, and no appeal shall be allowed to the federal Courts in such cases, unless the sum or value of the thing in controversy amount to three hundred dollars.

Eighthly, In civil actions between citizens of different States, every issue of fact arising in actions at com-

mon law, shall be tried by a jury if the parties or either of them request it.

Ninthly, Congress shall at no time consent that any person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall accept a title of nobility or any other title or office, from any king, prince or foreign State.

Tenthly, That no standing army shall be kept up in time of peace, unless with the consent of three fourths of the members of each branch of Congress; nor shall soldiers in a time of peace, be quartered upon private houses without the consent of the owners.

Eleventhly, Congress shall make no Laws touching religion or to infringe the rights of conscience.

Twelfthly, Congress shall never disarm any citizen, unless such as are or have been in actual rebellion.

And the Convention do, in the name and in behalf of the people of this State enjoin it upon their Representatives in Congress, at all times, until the alterations and provisions aforesaid have been considered, agreeably to the fifth article of the said Constitution, to exert all their Influence and use all reasonable and legal methods to obtain a Ratification of the said alterations and provisions in such manner as is provided in the said article.

And that the United States in Congress Assembled may have due notice of the assent and ratification of the said Constitution by this Convention:—

It is Resolved, That the assent and ratification aforesaid, be engrossed on parchment, together with the recommendation and Injunction aforesaid, and with this Resolution; and that John Sullivan Esq^r. President of Convention, and John Langdon, Esq^r. President of the State, transmit the same countersigned by the Sec-

retary of Convention and the Secretary of the State under their hands and seals, to the United States in Congress assembled.

JOHN CALFE, Secretary.

It would be invidious, perhaps, to name any one as the leader in this Convention, in which were gathered so many of the prominent members of this party. John Sullivan, the governor of the state during its first session, was there, bold, active, influential. So, too, was John Langdon, governor during its second session. He was one of the Constitution's most earnest friends, and contributed the whole force of his incessant efforts and magnetic oratory to its support. In it also was Judge Livermore, chief-justice of the superior court, able, acute, calm, and sagacious.

It would be fair to say that these three men formed a Federal trio in the Convention, more influential and able than any other which could have been constituted from its other members. And still further may it be said, that notwithstanding the inestimable services of their associates, among whom were Pickering, Gilman, Bartlett, Bellows, and others of commanding influence, it is also fair to say, that, in the vital struggle of the last two days, Judge Livermore

was clearly the leader of the Federal force in the Convention.

Of the opponents of the Constitution, Joshua Atherton was undoubtedly and easily the chief. He was the only man among them capable of sustaining anything like an even contest with Judge Livermore, but he was less ably supported. Without him the Anti-Federalists would have been weak indeed.





CHAPTER VII.

SPREAD OF THE NEWS OF RATIFICATION BY THE NINTH STATE.

Celebrations and rejoicings at Portsmouth, Boston, Salem, Providence, Newport, and elsewhere.

The vote on ratification was taken on Saturday, June 21, at one o'clock P. M.¹ Immediately after its announcement John Langdon wrote to Governor Hancock of Massachusetts, "The Convention of this state have this moment adopted the new Constitution—Yeas, 57; Nays, 46."² On the same day he wrote similar

¹They took care to insert in their record that their vote was taken on Saturday, the twenty-first of June, at one o'clock in the afternoon, that Virginia at a later hour of the same day might not dispute with them

the honor of giving life to the new Constitution.—*Bancroft's Hist. Con.*, vol. 2, p. 318.

²*N. H. State Papers*, vol. 10, p. 22.

The Journal says 47 votes.

letters to Rufus King and to Alexander Hamilton.¹

In anticipation of the ratification of the Constitution, Gen. Sullivan and Gen. Knox had arranged for an express across the country to bear the news to the New York Convention, then in session at Poughkeepsie, and to that of Virginia, at Richmond. The welcome intelligence reached the former on the twenty-fourth, but was not received by the latter until after the twenty-sixth, on which day, as the tenth state, it passed its vote of ratification by a majority of ten.

The news of the ratification of the Constitution by the ninth state was everywhere received with demonstrations of delight. "As the glad tidings flew through the land, the heart of its people thrilled with joy that at last the tree of union was firmly planted."²

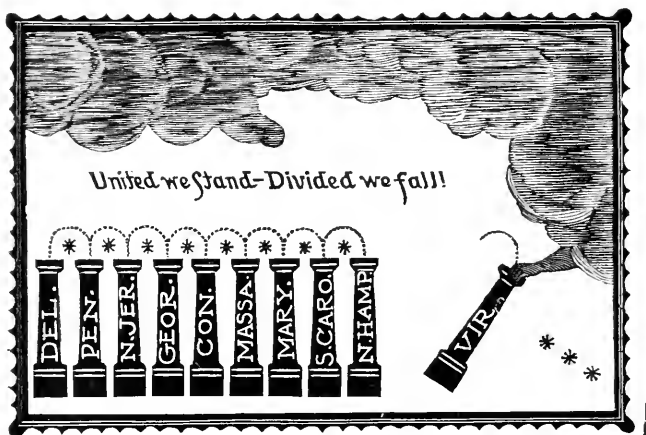
The following account of the celebration in Portsmouth, to which the news of the ratification gave rise, is taken almost verbatim from the *New Hampshire Gazette and General Advertiser* of June 26, 1788:

¹*Bancroft's Hist. Con.*, vol. 2,
p. 471.

²*Bancroft's Hist. Con.*, vol. 2,
p. 318.

THE NINTH AND SUFFICIENT PILLAR RAISED.

"Fame claps her wings and Sounds it to the Skies!"



Portsmouth, June 26. On Sunday morning last we received the agreeable and interesting intelligence of the RATIFICATION of the new Constitution by the Convention of this state, whereby we have, in effect, laid the top stone to the grand FEDERAL EDIFICE, and happily raised the NINTH Pillar. The joy which this event diffused through all ranks of citizens in this Metropolis is hardly conceivable :

*"Joy sat on every face without a cloud,
As in the days of opening Paradise."*

Mutual congratulations took place, and public thanks were returned in all the churches. It being Lord's Day, no other testimonials of joy took place until Monday morning, at one o'clock, at which time the bells rang a

joyful peal. Several citizens paraded the streets with musick, saluting the members of the Convention (who had returned from Concord), other patriotic characters, &c.

* * * * *

President Langdon, on Monday afternoon, on his arrival at Greenland, from Concord, was met by Col. Wentworth's Corps of Independent Horse, Capt. Woodward's Company of Artillery, and Col. Hill's Company of Foot, together with a large number of Gentlemen in Carriages and on horseback, and escorted into town.

What added greatly to the brilliancy of the scene was the appearance of a great number of ladies, whose smiling countenances bespoke that congeniality of sentiment which ever ought to subsist between the sons and daughters of Adam.

Thursday being the day appointed to celebrate the RATIFICATION of the Federal Constitution by the State of New Hampshire, a numerous concourse of the inhabitants of Portsmouth and the neighbouring towns being assembled on the Parade, about eleven o'clock an armed ship was espied from the State House bearing down under full sail: being hailed on her approach, she proved to be the ship UNION, Thomas Manning, Esq., Commander, from Concord, out five days, bound to the Federal City, all well and in good spirits. About a quarter past eleven she dropt anchor, and having received pilot on board, got under way and joined the procession, which moved in the following order:

A band of Musick in an open coach and six horses, decorated. Husbandmen. A plough drawn by nine yoke of Oxen.

A man Sowing. A Harrow.

Reapers, Thrashers, Mowers, Haymakers, each with their proper implements.

A man swingling flax. A cart gathering in harvest.

Blacksmiths and Nailers, with their forges, anvils, and sledges at work.

Shipwrights with their tools. Caulkers.

Rope makers with a spinning wheel and hemp round their waists, occupied.

Riggers, Mast-Makers, Ship Joiners, Block Makers.

Mathematical Instrument Makers with an azimuth compass.

Boat Builders at work on a boat nearly completed.

Carvers, Painters, Glaziers and Plumbers.

Coopers trimming casks.

Cullers of Fish. Stowadores.

Pilots with Spy Glasses and Charts.

The Ship  UNION
completely rigged and armed

and manned, under an easy sail, with colors flying, elevated on a carriage drawn by nine horses; a tenth, (emblematical of Virginia) completely harnessed, led and ready to join the rest.

Ship Captains with their quadrants. Seamen.

Shoremen, Truckmen, Millers.

Bakers, preceded by a flag displaying the bakers' arms.

Butchers, Tanners, and Curriers.

Cordwainers with their lasts decorated.

Tallow Chandlers. Tailors, Barbers.

Hatters, Housewrights, Masons.

Cabinet Makers and Wheelwrights.

Saddlers and Chaise Trimmers.

Upholsterers, Goldsmiths, Jewelers, and Silversmiths.
Clock and Watchmakers.

Copper Smiths, Whitesmiths, Brass founders.

Tinmen, with nine pillars and stars on a pedestal.

Potters with a table and wheel at work, nine pillars erected.

Brickmakers burning a kiln, others moulding bricks.

Leather Dressers. Cardmakers with cards.

Printers, preceded by two lads with open quires of printed paper, followed with cases and apparatus decorated; Compositors at Work; Pressmen, with Mr. Benjamin Dearborn's new invented printing press (named the American press), employed during the whole procession in striking off, and distributing among the surrounding multitude. Songs in celebration of the Ratification of the Federal Constitution by the State of New Hampshire.

MOTTO.

*"A Government of Freemen never knows
A Tyrant's shackles on the Press t' impose."*

Consuls, Merchants, and Traders.

The boys of the different Schools with the insignia of their studies, decorated.

The Terrestrial Globe rectified for New Hampshire (and decorated by a company of young ladies who are in the study of Geography), carried by two lads in uniform. In the decorations each state was distinguished; New Hampshire in the Zenith, and Rhode Island on the Western horizon, in mourning.

The Masters of the Schools.

MOTTO.

*"Where the bright beams of Fed'ral freedom glow,
The buds of science in full beauty blow."*

Clergy, Physicians, and Surgeons.

Sheriff, preceded by his Deputies.

Judges of Common Law and Admiralty Courts.

Clerks of Courts. Gentlemen of the Bar supporting the Federal Constitution.

The President of the State and President of the Convention.

Secretaries of the State and Convention.

Members of the Convention.

Members of the Legislature.

Treasurer and Commissary General.

Militia Officers in Uniform.

Every profession was distinguished by some insignia or badge, peculiar to it: the procession moved on through all the principal streets of the town, the band playing, and singing the Federal Song, "It comes, it comes," and after saluting the President of the State and the President and members of the Convention, at their respective lodgings with nine guns each, from the ship, the procession moved on to Union Hill, where a cold collation was provided, the band of musick playing during the repast, and the ship lying to with a man at the mast head, sent to spy out the ship VIRGINIA, which was hourly expected to join the rest of the fleet.

After dinner toasts were drank, after which was fired a salute of nine guns, which was returned by three cheers, and immediately after the firing the songs were sung accompanied by the band. The Procession then formed and returned in the same order they came, and on their return were saluted with thirteen guns from the Artillery. On their arrival at the State-House, a federal salute was fired from the ship, returned with three cheers which ended the procession. The ship

proceeding on her destined voyage, again fired a Federal Salute as she passed His Excellency's Seat.

In the evening the State-House was beautifully illuminated with nine candles in each window, while a large company of ladies and gentlemen, formed in a semi-circle, were entertained by the band from the balcony.

Language is too poor to describe the universal joy that glowed in every countenance. 'Tis enough to say that the brilliancy and festivity of the evening were only equalled by the decorum and hilarity of the day.

The following was one of the songs sung on this occasion:

SONG.

To the tune, "*He comes, He comes.*"

I.

It comes, it comes! high raise the song!
The bright procession moves along.
From pole to pole resound the NINE,
And distant worlds the chorus join.

II.

In vain did Britain forge the chain,
While countless squadrons hid the plain,
HANTONIA, foremost of the Nine,
Defy'd their force and took Burgoyne.

III.

To the tune "*Smile, smile, Britannia!*"

When PEACE resumed her seat,
And Freedom seemed secure,
Our patriot sages met,
That freedom to insure:

Then every eye on us was turned,
And every breast indignant burned.

IV.

That haughty race (they said)
All government despise ;
Skilled in the martial trade,
More valiant far than wise,
Though PALLAS lead them in the field,
Her aid in Council is withheld.

V.

False charge ! (the Goddess cried)
I made each hardy son,
Who in war's purple tide
First laid the CORNER STONE,
His utmost energy employ
To bring the TOP STONE forth with joy.

VI.

To the first tune, "*He comes, &c.*"

'Tis done, the glorious fabric's reared !
Still be New Hampshire's sons revered !
Who fixed its base in blood and scars
And stretched ITS TURRETS to the stars.

VII.

To the tune, "*When Britons first, &c.*"

See each industrious art moves on
To ask protection, praise and fame ;
The Ploughman by his tools is known,
And Vulcan, Neptune, join their claim :
Allow them all and wisely prove,
Naught can exist long without LOVE.

VIII.

LOVE binds in peace the universe ;
 By Love Societies combine ;
 LOVE prompts the poets' rapturous verse
 And makes their humble lays divine ;
 Then Shout for UNION, heaven born dame !
 And crown the goblet to her name.

IX.

To the first tune.

May New Hampshire's Sons in Peace and War,
 Supremely great ! both laurels wear,
 From every rival bear the prize,
 Till the last blaze involves the skies !

Nor was the joy caused by this great event confined to New Hampshire. The *Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, of Boston, thus speaks of it in its issue of June 26, 1788:

THE NINTH PILLAR ERECTED!

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution, between the States so ratifying the same. Art. VII.

INCIPIENT MAGNI PROCEDERE MENSES.

The arrival of Mr. Reed, on Sunday last, from Concord, New Hampshire, with the news of the adoption of the New Federal System by the Convention of that State, at two o'clock P. M. on Saturday last, diffused unusual joy through all ranks in this Metropolis,—as by this great event, the Federal Edifice is reared, and the future good government of the States in general secured to the people.

The bells of the several churches on Monday morning testified to the pleasure which filled the breast of every citizen, on this pleasing event.

The inhabitants of Roxbury also testified to their extreme pleasure on the arrival of this important intelligence by the same demonstrations of joy.

There were similar celebrations at Salem, Providence, Newport, and elsewhere. That at Salem was very like the one at Portsmouth, and consisted of a procession of military companies and bands of tradesmen, which was followed in the evening by a dinner and toasts at the Sun tavern. The editor of the *Salem Mercury* adorned his account of it with the usual line of columns and some of his best Latin. In fact, the poetry and Latin which some of these occasions called forth are found, upon examination, to have formed one of the leading characteristics of their glowing reports of them.





CHAPTER VIII.

THE OLD NORTH MEETING-HOUSE IN CONCORD.

*Frame. Raising. Dimensions. Location. Seats.
Proprietors. Bow Controversy. Completion.
Pews. Pulpit. Gallery. Singing-Seats.
Horse-Block. Sale of Pews.*

The old North Meeting-House in Concord, in which the ratification of the Constitution by New Hampshire took place, was for a hundred and nineteen years a conspicuous object of interest. It marked the centre of the central town of the state. From it radiated, as did once from imperial Rome, important roads northward and southward, eastward and westward. From it was reckoned the distances to surrounding towns. It was not only a place for divine worship, but for many years a town-house as well, in which elections were held and municipal business was transacted. In it at times the General

Court held its sessions, and, even after the erection of the state-house in 1816, upon assembling, its members walked to it in procession that they might listen to the annual Election Sermon delivered from its pulpit.

Its tall spire, peculiar form, and unusual size attracted the notice of visitors to the state capital. But the fact that within its consecrated walls the Constitution of the United States was ratified by New Hampshire as the ninth state, gave to it its most important interest. Its association with that great act has rendered it memorable, and justifies this effort to preserve some of the most important items of its history.

Its predecessor, the first meeting-house of Concord, was of logs. For twenty-five years it answered well the three-fold purpose of fortress, town-house, and sanctuary; but when, at length, as time passed on, the population of the town had so far increased as to imperatively demand a larger meeting-house, a new one was erected (1751) upon the spot now occupied by the Walker school-house. Its frame, mostly of oak, was composed of timbers of great size, and very heavy. The raising, commenced on the twelfth day of June, occupied a large number of

men for three days. The good women of the parish asserted their uncontested rights on the occasion, and afforded such refreshments as the nature of the arduous work required.¹

This building was one of great simplicity, and entirely unornamented. It was sixty feet long, forty-six feet wide, and two stories high. It faced the south, on which side was a door opening upon an aisle extending through the middle of the house straight to the pulpit. The seats were rude benches placed upon each side of it, those upon the west being assigned to the women, and those upon the east to the men. The deacons sat upon a seat in front of the pulpit and faced the congregation. A marked attention had been shown the minister by building for him a pew—the only one in the house. This simple structure was without gallery, porch, steeple, or chimney.

As the town had at this date, owing to its controversy with Bow, no organized government, it was built by a company of individuals, designated “The Proprietors of the Meeting-House,” and not by the town, as was usually the case. Its erection, under these circumstances, is an

¹ Bouton's History of Concord, p. 230.

important fact, showing conclusively the resolute character of its citizens, for at this time all the fair fields which they had wrested from the wilderness were unjustly claimed by persons, many of them of high political and social influence in the province, who, through the agency of the courts, were seeking to seize them.¹

¹ The Bow controversy, which lasted about twelve years, involved the title to more than three fourths of the entire territory of Concord. Its inhabitants held this under a grant of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, made in January, 1725. By the settlement of the boundary line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, in 1740, it became a part of the latter province.

Some nine years afterwards, by virtue of a grant by the government of New Hampshire, made in May, 1727, a company, denominated the Proprietors of Bow, sought by writs of ejectment to dispossess the owners, after a peaceable possession of more than twenty years. The parcels sued for were purposely so small as to preclude appeals to the higher courts in England, the object being to so harass the occupants as to force them either to an abandonment of

their lands, or to a second purchase of them from the Bow claimants.

The occupants regarded the whole scheme as a base swindle, and at once determined to resist its consummation. Defeated in every case brought before the provincial courts, then largely controlled by these claimants, they dispatched their minister, the Rev. Timothy Walker, as their agent, to London, to seek redress of their wrongs in the home courts. For this purpose he went to England no less than three times, once in the fall of 1753, once in 1755, and once in 1762. On the twenty-ninth day of December of this last year he obtained of the King in Council a decree reversing the decisions of the provincial courts and establishing the validity of their title,—a decree as just as the claims which it annihilated were wicked.

Indeed, it was only after a long and expensive controversy of thirteen years, that the rightful proprietors finally obtained, in 1762, at the Court of St. James, a decision securing to them the peaceable possession of their homes. A new spirit was infused into their hearts by this removal, by royal command, of the clouds which had so long hung over them. This was manifested in the increased enterprise everywhere apparent, and improvements, long delayed, were immediately commenced, now that they felt quieted in the possession of their estates.¹ It also appeared, some years later, in the general desire to finish the meeting-house, which had hitherto been but partially completed.

Measures were instituted as early as 1772 for

¹The diary of the pastor for 1764, the year succeeding that of his last return from England, affords marked evidence of this fact. In it he says,—

“April 20. Set out 20 apple trees in the Island orchard and in ye Joel orchard.”

“April 23. Bot 40 apple trees of Philip Eastman, brot. ym. home and set ym. out.”

“April 24. Set out about 60 young apple trees in ye house lot.”

“May 2. Set out eight elm trees about my honse.”

“May 5. Sowed a bushel of barley and more than a bushel of flax seed and harrowed it in. N. B.—26th of March set out 63 young apple trees in a row, beginning next ye road; then set out two young plum trees; then 5 of best winter apples; then 9 of the spice apple, making 79 in ye whole.”

the purchase of the Proprietors' interest by the town, but the distractions of the Revolution so absorbed the time and thoughts of the people that nothing conclusive was done.¹ Seven years afterwards, however (1779), the town voted "to relinquish the pew ground to any number of persons who would finish the meeting-house and add a porch and the value of another porch." It also voted "to be at the expense of building the steeple, excepting the cost of a porch." Two years later, on the ninth day of July, 1781, a committee was appointed to secure the enlargement of the meeting-house LOT by the purchase of additional land upon the south of it.

The next year (March 5, 1782) another committee was chosen to negotiate with the proprietors of the meeting-house for the purchase of their interest therein.² The parish accepted their

¹ March 3, 1772. "Voted that John Kimball, Henry Martin and John Blanchard be a committee to treat with the proprietors of the meeting-house, or such a committee as they shall choose, in order to purchase said house for the use of the parish."—*Town Records*, vol. 2, p. 34.

² March 5, 1782. "Voted to

choose a committee to treat with the proprietors of the meeting-house and see upon what terms they will relinquish the same to the parish."

"Voted that Peter Green, Esq., Capt. Benjamin Emery and Mr. Benjamin Hanniford be a committee for the purpose aforesaid."—*Town Records*, vol. 2, p. 112.

report, and a month later, April 8, 1782, in accordance with its recommendations, the purchase was made.¹

In June of this year the parish decided to finish the house, and Col. Timothy Walker, Jr., Robert Harris, and Lieut. Joseph Hall were constituted a committee for that purpose.² The inside was completed in 1783, and in the course of the next year the outside was finished.

It had an entrance porch at each end, twelve feet square and two stories high, containing a flight of stairs, in three runs, giving access to the galleries. The east porch was surmounted by a belfry and steeple, upon the spire of which stood, one hundred and twenty-three feet from the ground, a gilded weather-cock, of copper, four feet high, and weighing fifty-six pounds. It had glass eyes and a proudly expanded tail. It always looked ready for a fight, ecclesiastical or civil. The inhabitants thought much of it, and

¹For a copy of the deed, see Bouton's History of Concord, p. 285.

²June 17, 1782. "Voted to finish the meeting-house in said Concord."

"Voted to choose a commit-

tee to provide materials and finish said house."

"Voted that the committee consist of three."

"Voted that Col. Timothy Walker, Mr. Robert Harris and Mr. Joseph Hall be a committee for the purpose aforesaid."—*Town Records*, vol. 2, p. 114.

consulted its movements, in divining the weather, with almost as much confidence as do we the daily telegrams from the meteorological office at Washington.

The posts of this house, which were but partially concealed, were of white oak, and revealed plainly the marks of the hewer's broad-axe. They were twenty-eight feet long, twelve inches square at the bottom, and twelve by eighteen inches at the top. Those of the bell tower were of pine, sixty-four feet long and eighteen inches square. Two pitch-pine timbers, each sixty feet long and eighteen inches square, pinned to the cross-beams, confined this tower to the main body of the building. The belfry roof was supported upon graceful arches, and covered with unpainted tin. The bell-deck was surrounded by a handsome railing, and upon the belfry ceiling was painted, in strong colors, the thirty-two points of the compass, of sufficient size to be easily read from the ground. The walls were clapboarded, and surmounted by a handsome cornice.

To the lower floor there were three entrances, one, already mentioned, upon the south side, and one from each porch. Over the two last were

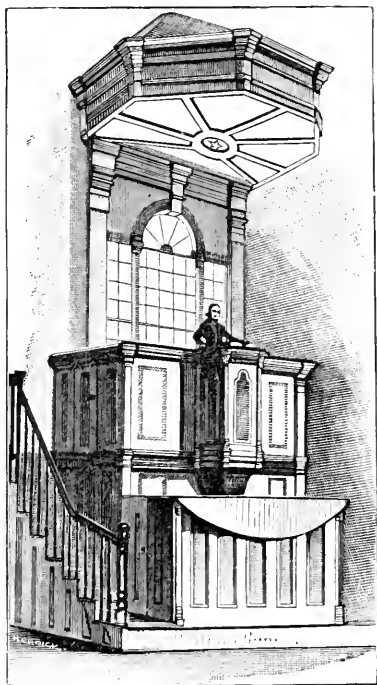
entrances to the gallery. There were two aisles besides that before alluded to. One extended from the east to the west door, and the other from one door to the other, between the wall pews upon the east, south, and west sides of the house and the body pews.

The pews were square, and inclosed by panellled sides, surmounted by turned balusters supporting a moulded rail. The seats were without cushions, and furnished with hinges, that they might be turned up when the congregation stood, as it did, during the long prayer. At the close of this they all went down with one emphatic bang, in response to the minister's "Amen!"

The pulpit, which was a huge, square structure, and had a semi-circular projection in front, was constructed of panelling, and loomed up like Mount Sinai, in awful majesty, high above the congregation. Behind it was a broad window of three divisions, above which projected forwards a ponderous sounding-board, of elaborate workmanship, as curious in design as it was innocent of utility.

The pulpit was reached by a flight of stairs upon the west side, ornamented by balusters of

curious patterns, three of which, each differing from the others, stood upon each step and supported the rail. The bright striped stair carpet, the red silk damask cushion upon which rested



the big Bible, blazing in scarlet and gold, were conclusive evidence that the worshippers lavished upon the sanctuary elegances which they denied themselves.

At the foot of the pulpit stairs stood a short mahogany pillar, upon which on baptismal occasions was placed the silver font. Just beneath and before the pulpit was the old men's pew,¹ to the front of which was suspended a semi-circular board, which, raised to a horizontal position on sacramental or business occasions, formed a table. A wide gallery, sloping upwards from front to rear, extended the entire length of the east, south, and west sides of the house. Next the wall were square pews like those below. In front of these the space was occupied in part by pews and in part by slips, with the exception of a section on the south side, immediately in front of the pulpit, which had been inclosed for the use of the choir. This had a round table in the centre, upon which the members placed their books, pitch-pipe, and instruments of music. At

¹ It is remembered with pleasure that in the old meeting-house the venerable old men sat on a seat prepared for them at the base of the pulpit, wearing on their bald heads a white linen cap in summer, and a red woollen or flannel cap in winter. This practice continued as late as 1825 and 1830.

Among the ancient men who

thus sat in the "old men's" seat, the following are distinctly remembered: Reuben Abbott, senior, Christopher Rowell, senior, John Shute, Capt. Joseph Farnum, Samuel Goodwin, Moses Abbott, Reuben Abbott, 2d, Nathan Abbott, and Chandler Lovejoy. — *Bouton's Hist. Concord*, p. 529.

a later date rows of seats took the place of this enclosure. A horizontal iron rod was placed above the breastwork in front of these, from which depended curtains of red. These were drawn during the singing, and concealed the faces of the singers from the congregation. At other times they were pushed aside.

In the east gallery, next to and north of the door, was the negro pew.¹ It was plainer than the others, and, at most services, had one or more sable occupants. Still farther north, but at a later date, was another of twice the ordinary size, finely upholstered, furnished with chairs, and carpeted. It belonged to Dr. Peter Renton, a Scotch physician, who came to Concord about 1822, and for some twenty years was quite prominent as a physician.

Such was the old North Meeting-House when finished in 1784, with but few, if any, exceptions the best in New Hampshire.

¹The number of slaves in New Hampshire in 1790 was, according to the census of that year, one hundred and fifty-eight. These were distributed in the several counties as follows:

In Grafton, 21.

Cheshire, 16.

Hillsborough. (?)

Strafford, 23.

Rockingham, 98.

It is a remarkable fact, if it be a fact, that there were none in Hillsborough county, which contained at that time more than one fourth of the entire population of the state.

One object the town had in view, in lavishing so much upon it, was a very praiseworthy desire to accommodate the legislature, which met here for the first time (1782) two years before, and was evincing some disposition to make Concord the capital of the state.

Such it remained until 1802. It was the only meeting-house, and to it the families of all sections of the town went up to worship, from Bow line to the Mast Yard, from Beech Hill to Soucook river.¹

Many persons, owing to the want of good

¹The population of Concord in 1800 was 2052. "The intermission was short—an hour in winter and an hour and a half in summer. The people all stayed, except those in the immediate vicinity; and hence, as *everybody* attended the same meeting, a fine opportunity was afforded for *everybody* to be acquainted. Old people now say that they used to know every person in town. Thus public worship greatly promoted social union and good feeling throughout the whole community. Whatever new or interesting event occurred in one neighborhood, such as a death, birth, marriage, or any accident, be-

came a subject of conversation, and thus communication was kept up between the people of remote sections, who saw each other on no other day than the Sabbath."—*Bouton's History of Concord*, p. 549.

Capt. Joseph Walker, who at a considerably later time commanded a large company of cavalry, resident in Concord and neighboring towns, was accustomed to notify meetings of his company by verbal notices to such members as he happened to see at the meeting-house on Sunday. These were sufficient, although many were not present, and some lived in Canterbury and Northfield. J. B. W.

roads, or of carriages, went to meeting on horse-back. A man and woman often rode double, the former upon a saddle in front, and the latter upon a pillion behind.¹ Why this custom was confined to married and elderly persons tradition does not say. For the convenience of persons riding thus there was a mounting-block, near the north-west corner of the meeting-house. This consisted of a circular flat stone, eight feet in diameter, raised about three feet from the ground. A few steps led to the top of it, from which many of the early inhabitants easily mounted their horses at the close of divine service. This ancient "horse-block," as it was

¹ " 'Going to meeting,' as it was called, on the Sabbath, was for seventy-five years and more the universal custom. Elderly people, who owned horses, rode *double*—that is, the wife with her husband, seated on a pillion behind him, with her right arm encircling his breast. The young people of both sexes went on foot from every part of the parish. In summer, young men usually walked barefoot, with shoes in hand; and the young women walked with

coarse shoes, carrying a better pair in hand, with stockings, to change before entering the meeting-house. The usual custom of those west of Long Pond was to stop at a large pine tree at the bottom of the hill west of Richard Bradley's, where the boys and young men put on their shoes, and the young women exchanged their coarse shoes for a better pair, drawing on at the same time their clean white stockings."—*Bouton's History of Concord*, p. 528.

termed, is still in good preservation, and doing kindred duty at the present time.¹



The expenses incurred in the completion of this meeting-house were met by an auction sale of the pews, of which there were forty-seven upon the ground floor and twenty-six in the

¹“On the west side of the old meeting-house was, and is, a horse-block, famous for its accommodations to the women in mounting and dismounting the horses. It consists in a large, round, flat stone, seven and a half feet in diameter, or about twenty-two feet in circumference, raised about four feet high, with steps. Tradition says it was erected at the instance of the good wives who rode on pillions, and that they

agreed to pay a pound of butter apiece to defray the expense.”—*Bouton's History of Concord*, p. 530.

At a meeting of the Society held on the 13th day of April, 1869, this horse-block was presented to the writer of this paper, as appears by the following vote in the clerk's records, viz.: “Voted that we present the old Horse-Block to Mr. Jos. B. Walker.”

gallery. By this sale it became the joint property of the town and of the pew owners.¹

¹ March 2, 1784:

"Voted to choose a committee to vendue the pews and finish the meeting-house."

"Voted that this committee consist of three."

"Voted that Capt. Reuben Kimball, Col. Timothy Walker and Lieut. John Bradley be a committee for the purpose aforesaid."

"Voted to make an addition of two to the committee aforesaid."

"Voted that John Kimball and James Walker be the additional committee."

"Voted to choose a Treasurer to receive the notes for the pews."

"Voted that Dr. Peter Green be Treasurer."

"Voted to choose a committee to settle with Treasurer."

"Voted that this committee consist of three."

"Voted that Capt. Benjamin Emery, Peter Green, Esq., and Capt. John Roach be the committee for the purpose aforesaid."

"Voted to reconsider the vote choosing Dr. Peter Green, Treasurer."

"Voted that the committee appointed to finish the meeting-house proceed to finish the outside of the same the ensuing summer."—*Town Records*, vol. 2, pp. 132 and 133.





CHAPTER IX.

THE OLD NORTH MEETING-HOUSE, CONTINUED.

Enlargement. Bell. First Bell Ringer. Toleration Act. Sale of Town's interest in the House and Bell. Remodelling of Pews. Occupancy by the N. H. Constitutional Convention of 1778 and 1791, and by the General Court in 1782 and subsequently. Introduction of Stores. Election Sermons. Abandonment as a House of Worship, and conversion to a Methodist Theological Seminary. Its destruction by fire.

At the opening of the present century the population of Concord had so increased as to require the enlargement of the meeting-house. At a meeting holden on the first day of December, 1801, the town accepted a plan for that purpose, presented by a committee previously

chosen.¹ This provided for an addition of two stories to the south side. At the same time Richard Ayer and others were authorized, upon furnishing suitable bonds for the faithful performance of the work, to make this addition at their own cost, and take in compensation therefor the new pew ground thus acquired.²

This addition, which stood upon two courses of hammered granite ashler, was a semi-polygon, having the same length as the house and a middle width of thirty feet. The ridge lines of its

¹ "Voted to choose a committee of seven persons to propose a plan to the town, viz.:—Jacob Abbott, Richard Ayer, Paul Rolfe, William A. Kent, Benjamin Emery, Stephen Ambrose, Abial Virgin."

"Voted to accept the report of the above committee, which is as follows, viz.:—'The committee appointed to report a plan for an addition to the meeting-house, report that a plan exhibited before the town, being a semi-circle projecting thirty feet in front of the house, and divided into seven angles, and the gallery upon the plan annexed be accepted, and that the owners of pews in the front of the house below have their choice to remain where they are or go

back to the wall the same distance from the front door; and that the present front wall pews be placed on a level with the other body pews, that the owners of wall pews in front of the gallery have as good wall pews in front of the addition.' "

² "Voted to choose a committee of five to take bonds of Capt. Richard Ayer and others who came forward at this meeting, and offered to make the addition on the plan exhibited by the committee and accepted by the town, viz.: Jacob Abbott, John Blanchard, Benjn. Emery, John Kimball and Enoch Brown, the committee, for the above purpose."—*Town Records*, vol. 2, p. 266.

roof, starting from a common point, on the ridge of the old structure, half way between its two extremes, terminated at the several angles of the cornice. The style and quality of the work corresponded to that to which it was an addition. Upon completion, March 1, 1803, it was approved by the town, and the bond of the undertakers was surrendered.¹

The cost of this addition was met by the sale of the new pews, for which it afforded room. A part of these, unlike the old ones, were long and narrow, and were denominated slips.

A few years later (1809) the selectmen were directed to remove the two front pews in the old part of the house, and have erected upon their site four slips. These, upon completion, were sold at auction for the sum of three hun-

¹ March 1, 1803. "Voted to accept the report of the committee appointed to inspect the building and finishing the addition to the meeting-house, viz.: 'We aforesaid committee having carefully inspected the materials made use of in the making the addition to and alterations in the meeting-house in Concord and the workmanship in erecting and finishing the same, hereby certify that it

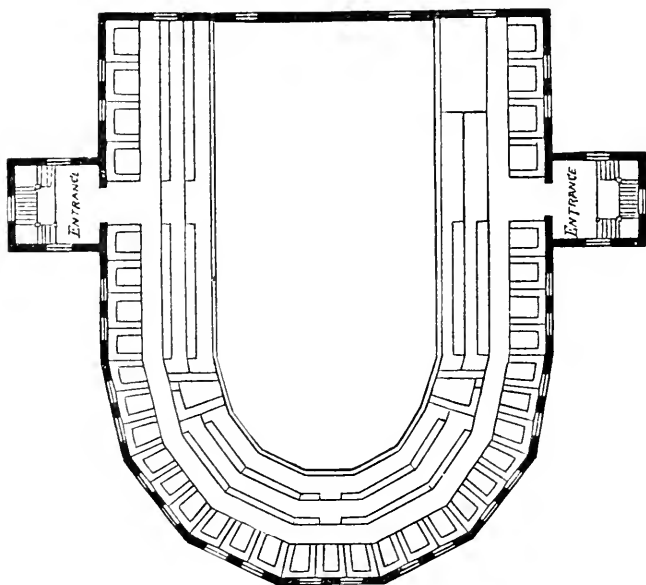
appears to us that the materials made use of for each and every part were suitable, and of good quality, and that the work is done in a handsome, workman-like manner.

Committee. { JACOB ABBOTT,
BENJAMIN EMERY,
JOHN BLANCHARD,
JOHN KIMBALL,
ENOCH BROWN."

CONCORD, June 3, 1803.

—*Town Records*, vol. 2, p. 276.

dred and twenty-two dollars and twenty-five cents, which was set aside as the nucleus of a fund for the purchase of a bell, in accordance with a vote of the town authorizing this work. Nearly ten years before this (March 31, 1800)



PLAN OF GALLERY, 1803.

the town had offered, with a prudence worthy of highest admiration, "to accept of a bell if one can be obtained by subscription." This liberal offer had lain neglected for nine entire years until now, when private subscriptions increased

this nucleus to five hundred dollars, and the long wished for bell was procured. It weighed twelve hundred pounds, and as its clear tones sounded up and down the valley, the delight was universal.

The next year the town ordered it rung three times every day, except Sundays, viz., at seven in the morning, at noon, and at nine o'clock at night. The times of ringing on Sundays were to be regulated by the selectmen. Four years later it was ordered to be tolled at funerals, when desired.

Concord's first bell-ringer was Sherburn Wiggin.¹ He was paid a salary of twenty-five dollars a year, and gave a satisfactory bond for a faithful performance of the duties of his office. The prudence of our fathers is clearly seen in the practice of requiring bonds of their public servants, and of annually "venduing" some of their less valuable offices to the lowest bidder instead of selling them to the highest, as is said

¹ Among Concord's early sextons were Sherburn Wiggin in 1810, and Benjamin Emery, Jr., in 1811 and 1812, to whom the bell ringing was vendued, as the lowest bidders. Subse-

quently the appointment of sextons was left to the selectmen. Among the later incumbents of this office were Peter Osgood, Thomas B. Sargent, and Joseph Brown.

to have been done elsewhere in later days. This rapid increase of the sexton's salary affords a marked instance of the growing extravagance of the fathers, and of the rapaciousness of the office-holders among them. The salary of the sexton rose rapidly from twenty-five dollars a year in 1810 to forty dollars in 1818—an alarming increase of sixty per cent. in only eight years.

Excepting some inconsiderable repairs in 1817-18, nothing more was done to the meeting-house for about thirty years. An act of the legislature, passed in 1819, generally known as the "Toleration Act," gradually put an end to town ministries, and removed the support of clergymen to the religious societies over which they were settled.¹

Two new societies had been already formed in Concord when this became a law, viz., the Epis-

¹ An act of the legislature "regulating towns and town officers," passed February 8, 1791, provided "That the inhabitants of each town in this state, qualified to vote as aforesaid, at any meeting duly and legally warned and holden in such town, may, agreeably to the constitution, grant and vote such sum

or sums of money as they shall judge necessary for the settlement, maintenance and support of the ministry."

A subsequent act, approved July 1, 1819, repealed this provision of the act of 1791, and left the support of the ministry to be provided for by the religious societies of towns.

copal in 1817, and the First Baptist in 1818. Five years later, on the 29th July, 1824, the First Congregational Society in Concord was formed, and upon the resignation of its third minister, Dr. McFarland, July 11, 1824, the town ministry in Concord ceased.

This important change, together with the organization of new societies, made advisable the disposal of the town's interest in the meeting-house, meeting-house lot, and bell.¹ A committee, appointed March 11, 1828, for this purpose, accordingly sold the town's interest in these to the First Congregational Society in Concord for eight hundred dollars.² In consid-

¹ March 13, 1826. "Voted, that William A. Kent, Joseph Walker and Abel Hutchins be a committee to take into consideration the subject relative to selling the interest or right the town may have in the meeting-house to the First Congregational Society in Concord, and report the expediency and terms at the next town meeting."—*Town Records*, vol. 3, p. 58.

² This committee reported recommending the sale of the Land on which the house stands, for \$300.00

Town's interest in the meeting-house,	\$200.00
Town's interest in the bell,	300.00
	<hr/>
	\$800.00

March 11, 1828. "Voted, that Samuel Herbert, Benjamin Parker and Isaac Eastman be a committee to sell and convey to the First Congregational Society in Concord the interests the town have in the meeting-house, the land on which it stands, and the bell, agreeably to the report of the committee to the town at the last annual meeting, and

eration of the fact that the bell was to be very largely used for the benefit of all its citizens, the town subsequently remitted three hundred dollars of this amount.¹

But still again, in 1828, the congregation had outgrown its venerable sanctuary, and the demand for more room became imperative. After much discussion, a committee was appointed on

that they be hereby authorized to sell and convey the same to said society.”—*Town Records*, vol. 3, p. 96.

July 25, 1828. The town of Concord, by Samuel Herbert, Benjamin Parker and Isaac Eastman, a committee duly authorized, conveyed to the First Congregational Society in Concord “all the right, title and interest we have in and unto a certain tract of land situate in said Concord, being the same land on which the meeting-house occupied by said society now stands, described as follows, to wit: Extending from the south side of said house as first built, six rods south; from the east end of said house, six rods east; from the north side of said house, six rods north; and from the west end of said house to the original reserve for a road by the burying ground, including the land on which said

house stands, together with said house and the bell attached to the same, reserving a highway on the south side of said house where it now is not less than four rods wide, and also at the west end of said house, and reserving the right to have said bell tolled at funerals and rung as usual on week days and on public occasions; no shed to be erected on said land except on the north side of said house.”—*Merrimack Records*, vol. 15, p. 380.

¹ November 14, 1828. “Voted that the selectmen be and are hereby authorized to endorse the sum of three hundred dollars on a note the town holds against the First Congregational Society in Concord, being the same which was relinquished for the bell.”—*Town Records*, vol. 3, p. 121.

the sixteenth day of April of this year to alter the square pews, on the central portion of the lower floor of the house, into slips.¹ This change

¹Number and owners of pews on the lower floor of the First Congregational Society's meeting-house in Concord, in June, 1828, and to whom transferred:

NOS. NAMES OF OWNERS IN 1828. TO WHOM TRANSFERRED.	
1	Society's free pew.
2	Jacob A. Potter. Society's pew.
3	Jonathan Eastman & William West.
4	Mary Ann Stickney.
5	Abial and Henry Rolfe.
6	Richard Herbert.
7	John Eastman.
8	Ephraim Abbott.
9	Isaac Virgin.
10	Hazen Virgin.
11	Timothy Chandler. Samuel Fletcher.
12	John Odlin.
13	Charles Walker. Oliver L. Sanborn.
14	Laban Page.
15	Thomas D. Potter & Lucy Davis. Thos. D. Potter & D. L. Morrill.
16	John West & Theodore French.
17	Rhoda Kimball.
18	Patty Green.
19	Moses Bullen. D. N. Hoyt.
20	E. and C. Emery's heirs.
21	Nathan Chandler, Jr.
22	Harriet Breed. James Sanborn.
23	Abel Baker.
24	Reuben Goodwin & Samuel Carter. Sewell Hoyt.
25	Nathaniel Eastman & Isaac Emery.
26	Nathaniel Ambrose & Simeon Virgin.
27	Henry Chandler & John Corlis.
28	Henry Martin & Isaac F. Ferrin. Benjamin Parker.
29	Ephraim Farnum.

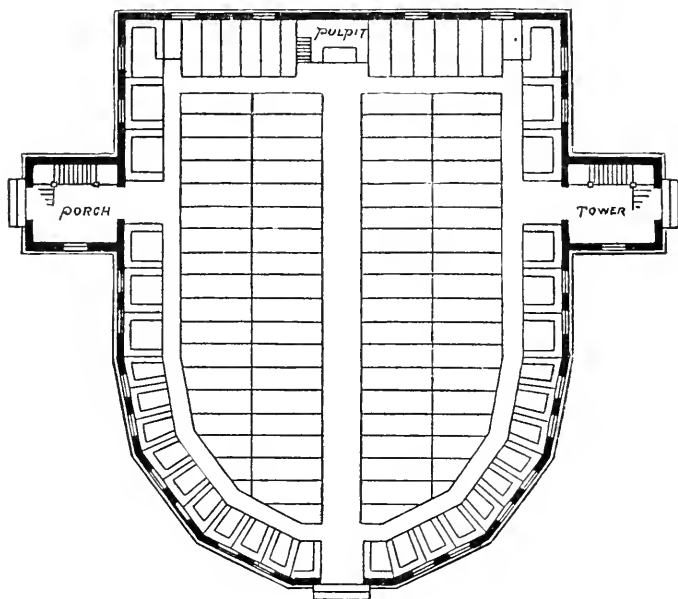
increased the number of pews from ninety-nine to one hundred and ten, and raised the number

30 Robert Davis.	
31 Isaac Farnum.	
32 Asa Abbott.	Robert Davis.
33 Thomas B. Sargent.	
34 Nathan Ballard, Jr.	
35 Susanna Walker.	
36 Robert Davis.	Wm. Abbott.
37 Abial Walker.	
38 Abial Walker & Nathaniel Abbott.	A. B. Kelley.
39 Benjamin H. Swett.	
40 Society's Pew.	Nathaniel Abbott.
41 Joseph Farnum.	Abial Walker.
42 Ezra Ballard.	
43 Timothy Carter.	
44 Abner Farnum.	
45 Moses Farnum.	
46 Moses Carter.	
47 Samuel B. Davis & A. B. Davis.	
48 James Buswell.	Proctor.
49 Richard Ayer.	E. S. Towle.
50 Charles Eastman.	
51 Isaac Dow.	
52 James Eastman.	
53 Daniel Fisk.	
54 Richard Flanders & Sons.	
55 Betsey & Hannah Whitney.	
56 John Dimond.	S. A. Kimball.
57 John George.	
58 Moses Shute.	
59 George Hutchins.	James Straw.
60 Jonathan Ambrose.	
61 John Lovejoy.	
62 Thomas Potter.	
63 Eliza Abbott.	
64 Isaac Shute.	

of sittings to about twelve hundred and fifty.
The east, south, and west wall pews remained

65 Jonathan Wilkins.	Ivory Hall.
66 Abial Eastman.	
67 John Eastman.	
68 Millen Kimball.	
69 John Putney.	State of New Hampshire.
70 Margaret Dow.	Dr. Colby.
71 Samuel Morril.	
72 Samuel A. Kimball.	
73 Asaph Evans.	
74 Samuel Fletcher.	
75 Richard Bradley.	
76 Moses Hall.	
77 Jeremiah Pecker.	
78 Enoch Coffin.	
79 Joseph Low.	
80 Isaac Hill & Wm. Hurd.	
81 Charles Hutchins.	
82 Abel Hutchins.	
83 Joseph Eastman.	Jacob Clough.
84 Joseph Eastman.	Simeon Farnum.
85 Jacob Hoit.	
86 Frye Williams.	
87 Samuel Herbert.	
88 William A. Kent.	
89 William Stickney.	
90 John Glover.	
91 Orlando Brown & Sarah Dearborn.	
92 Richard Ayer.	
93 Nathaniel Abbott.	
94 Elizabeth McFarland.	
95 George Kent.	
96 Stephen Ambrose.	
97 Simeon & Benjamin Kimball.	
98 Jonathan Wilkins.	
99 Parsonage.	

as they were. The following plan shows the arrangement at this time of the aisles and seats upon the first floor:



PLAN OF FIRST FLOOR IN 1828.

It is a notable fact, that very soon after the meeting-house had attained its greatest capacity its congregations began rapidly to diminish. This was due to the formation of other religious societies. The number of regular members, which in 1825 was two hundred and twenty-two,

had fallen in 1833 to one hundred and seventy-three, and the audiences had decreased correspondingly. Besides those who had withdrawn to form new organizations of other denominations, there began, in the year last named, a further exodus of members to form the West Concord society. This was followed by another, in 1837, to lay the foundations of the South society. These had reduced its membership in 1841 to one hundred and five. The next year the East Concord members left, and formed the Congregational society in that village. Thus, quartered and diminished in its membership more than one half, we can readily see that the remnant was insufficient to fill the great structure of which it now found itself the sole possessor.

Its fifty great windows, each with its forty panes of glass, looked more staring than ever before, and rattled when the wind blew as they had never rattled before. The voice of the minister reverberated through the vast area, and his eye sought in vain upon the floor and in the galleries the dense ranks of men, women, and children, numbering some ten or twelve hundred, which had been wont to greet him.

One is not, therefore, surprised to find, as he

turns over the well kept records of the society, that there came one day (March 17, 1841), before a meeting of its members, a proposition to leave the old sanctuary and build a new and smaller one. This, after long consultations and various delays, caused in part by differences of preference as to location, resulted in the erection of a new and third meeting-house, at the corner of Main and Washington streets.¹

But before leaving the old house for the new one, the members of the several societies, which from time to time had gone out therefrom, met within its consecrated walls, and, after prayer and song and pleasant reminiscences, bade it farewell forever.²

¹This was destroyed by fire in 1873, and a fourth was subsequently erected upon the site of it.

²“Previous to leaving the old North meeting-house as a place of public worship, a union meeting of the four Congregational churches in town was held in it. The meeting was attended two successive days, viz.,—Thursday 27th and Friday 28th of September, in which the several pastors took part, viz.,—Rev. Asa P. Tenney of the West

church; Rev. Daniel J. Noyes of the South church; Rev. Timothy Morgan, preacher at East church; and the pastor of the First church. In the forenoon of Friday, the pastor preached a discourse on reminiscences of the old meeting-house. In the afternoon, about five hundred and fifty communicants, belonging to the four sister churches, sat down to the Lord's Supper. It was a season of tender and affecting interest. Many wept at the thought of a separation from the place where they and

This imperfect sketch would be still more so should a passing allusion to some of the assemblies, other than religious, convened from time to time in this honored house, be neglected.

As early as 1778 a Convention was here holden to form a plan of government for the state of New Hampshire.

The first time the legislature ever met in Concord, March 13, 1782, it assembled in this house.¹ Owing, however, to the cold, it adjourned for that session to another building tem-

their fathers had so long worshipped."—*Bouton's History of Concord*, p. 452.

¹The General Assembly, in session at Exeter, voted, on the twelfth day of January, 1782, "That when the business of this session is finished, the General Court be adjourned to meet at Concord, at such time as shall be agreed upon by the said General Court."—*Provincial Papers*, vol. 8, p. 930.

The tradition is, that Col. Timothy Walker, then a member of the house from Concord, remarked to some of the members who were complaining of the treatment which they had received at their boarding-

houses, that if the General Assembly would hold its next session at Concord, they should be as well accommodated as at Exeter and for half the money. Thereupon the Assembly adjourned to Concord.

Upon his return home the Colonel informed his neighbors of his promise and the consequences thereof, and that at its next session all must open their houses for the accommodation of the members of the General Court. This they at once agreed to do, and subsequently did, to general satisfaction. Since then, forty-four sessions of the General Court had been held in Concord, up to 1816, when it became the capital of the state.

porarily prepared for its accommodation.¹ From the year 1782, onward to 1790, when the first Concord town-house was built, there were held in it no less than fifteen sessions of the General Court.

The adjournment, just alluded to, suggests the fact that for two centuries after coming to this country our New England ancestors had no fires in their sanctuaries. They accepted the weather as God sent it, and were content. If in summer the sun, shining through great unshaded windows, dazzled their eyes, they contracted their eyebrows and bore it, either with winking or without, as individual preferences suggested. If in winter the cold in God's house was intense, they shrugged their shoulders, worked their toes, and, so far as they could, got bodily warmth from the fervor of their devotions. But it must have been very chilly for the ungodly on such occasions. That at the noon intermission such should have sought spiritual invigoration at Hanaford's tavern near by may

¹The hall fitted up for this occasion was in the second story of the house now standing on the west side of Main street, next north of the house of

Enoch Gerrish. At that time it stood upon the east side of the street, and a few rods south of its present location.

have been inexcusable, but it was not inconsistent with the native depravity of that time.

Means of warming were introduced into the Old North Meeting-House in 1821.¹ A moderate sized box stove was placed in the broad aisle. This had a very long funnel, which was taken through the ceiling to a short chimney in the attic.

This central warmer proved but partially satisfactory, and may have operated like a similar one in the meeting-house of another town, which was said to have driven all the cold air from the middle of the house to the sides, rendering the wall pews more uncomfortable than ever before.

¹As I can never forget the faces within, so I never can the furious winds which howled about the ancient pile, the cold by which it was penetrated, and the stamping of men and women when within the porches, as they came from afar, and went direct from their sleighs to an immense apartment in which there was no fire except that carried thither in foot-stoves. The rattling of a multitude of loose windows, my tingling feet, the breath of people seen across the house as the smoke of chimneys is discerned on frosty

mornings, the impatience of the congregation, and the rapidity of their dispersion,—are they not all upon the memory of those who worshipped in that house previous to the year 1821? Then my father suggested that in winter there be only one service, which led to the purchase of a moderate sized box stove, and its erection half way up the central aisle. This, strange as it may seem, was a departure from old custom which encountered some opposition.—*Biography and Recollections by Asa McFarland*, p. 104.

The introduction of a stove into a meeting-house often met great opposition and caused serious commotion. The excitement caused by the setting up of a stove in the meeting-house at Webster, in 1832, was quieted only by a general agreement, embodied in a vote passed at a regular meeting of the society, "to dispense with a fire in the stove the first Sabbath in each month through the cold season."¹

Before the introduction of the stove, and even afterwards, many among the more delicate portion of the congregation had sought a slight mitigation of the frosts in God's house by the use of foot-stoves. These continued in quite general use so long as worship was continued in this house. The heat of such a warmer came from a pan of coals inclosed in a box of tin. No man who was a boy fifty or sixty years ago will ever forget the Sunday labor imposed upon him in cold weather by the filling and carrying back and forth of one of these. The stern fathers of the previous generation may, very likely, have regarded them as vanities, and this Sunday labor as unnecessary and sinful. To this good Puritan opinion there can be no doubt that the boys who

¹ Coffin's History of Boscawen and Webster, p. 238.

had mastered the catechism, and the families in the immediate vicinity of the meeting-house levied upon for coals, would have readily assented.

It was in this Old North Meeting-House, as before mentioned, that the New Hampshire State Convention was holden, on the 21st day of June, 1788, which, as the ninth assembled for that purpose, ratified the Federal Constitution and started upon its glorious career the government of the United States. In this house were also held the Conventions of 1781 and 1791 to revise the Constitution of the state.

Fourteen times, from 1784 to 1806, did the legislature march in formal procession to this house to hear the annual Election Sermon, which preceded its organization, and every year afterwards until 1831, when the sermon was discontinued. Thirty-nine of all the Election Sermons preached before the legislature of New Hampshire were delivered from its pulpit.¹

From 1765 to 1790, a period of twenty-five years, all annual and special town-meetings were held in it. Here the legal voters of Concord,

¹ The Election Sermon was preached by Rev. Israel Evans, in 1791; by Rev. Dr. Asa McFarland, in 1808; and by Rev.

Dr. Nathaniel Bonton, in 1828, who were successively pastors of the people worshipping in this house.

many of whom rarely if ever met on other occasions, except for divine worship, assembled to exchange friendly greetings and to discharge their civil duties as American citizens. Here, also, protracted religious meetings were held from time to time, the most memorable of which was that of 1831. Here important addresses were delivered to large assemblies on Fourth of July, and on other occasions of general interest. Here, in 1835, was delivered before the General Court a eulogy on Gen. Lafayette, by Hon. Nathaniel G. Upham. Here were held conventions for the promotion of temperance. Here occurred, in 1834 and 1835, the memorable trials of Abraham Prescott for the murder of Mrs. Sally Cochran, of Pembroke. Here was had that sharp political encounter between Franklin Pierce and John P. Hale, upon the latter's leaving the Democratic party in 1845. The walls of no other house in New Hampshire resounded to so many lofty flights of eloquence as did those of this meeting-house from 1751 to 1845.

A few years after its abandonment this ancient structure was sought by the trustees of the Methodist General Biblical Institute as the seat of that institution, which it was proposed to

remove from Newbury, Vt., to Concord. The First Congregational Society and the pew-holders cheerfully conveyed to them their several interests in the building and lot, and public-spirited citizens of Concord subscribed some three thousand dollars for so remodelling the house as to suit the new purpose to which it was to be devoted. The pulpit, pews, and galleries were removed; a second floor was introduced, and the two stories, thereby secured, were divided into dormitories and lecture-rooms.¹ It continued the seat of the Institute until its removal to Boston, when, in accordance with the terms of its conveyance twenty years before, it reverted, with the land upon which it stood, to the First Congregational Society of Concord. It was subsequently sold to private parties, and the proceeds of its sale were devoted to the purchase of the First Congregational Society's parsonage. With sad hearts its many friends afterward saw it degraded to a tenement house of a low order. But its desecration was brief. On the night of Monday, November 28, 1870, the purifying angel wrapped her mantle about the old building, and

¹ A portion of the pulpit is in possession of the New Hampshire Historical Society, and in good preservation.

transported it heavenward on wings of flame. Not long afterwards the Union School District purchased the site of it, and reared thereon one of the fairest school-houses of which any New Hampshire town can boast. It was named from Concord's first minister,¹ and bears upon its south façade a tablet with the inscription to be found on page 117 of the Appendix.

So, after a useful existence of nearly four generations, the Old North Meeting-House, resolved into its original elements, yielded its site to another structure of kindred character in the great scheme of American civilization. It was a "meeting-house" in the broadest New England sense of that word, and was directly associated with more important public events than any other in the state.

But, at the end of a century, the Federal Constitution, whose provisions first became vital within its walls, flourishes in increasing vigor. The narrow belt of states along the Atlantic, which its adoption compacted into an efficient nationality, have nearly trebled in number and

¹ Rev. Timothy Walker, pastor of the First Congregational Society in Concord from No-

vember 18, 1730, to September 1, 1782.

stretch westward to the Pacific. The population which it at first regulated has increased from less than four to more than sixty millions. A manufacturing interest of colossal dimensions has been created, and an agriculture, of limited proportions at its adoption, has attained to such a magnitude that its products, expressed in figures, are but vaguely apprehended. Moreover, the anticipation is a reasonable one, that the flag which symbolizes its principles and its power will ere long shelter more millions than have ever before been banded together in one nationality, and wave above the greatest effort for the amelioration of the human race which history has recorded.



APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Additional Biographical Notices of Members of the Federal Convention.

COL. PIERSE¹ LONG (page 8) was born in Portsmouth, 1739. He received a fair education under Maj. Samuel Hale, the distinguished teacher in that town. He became a shipping-merchant, and continued in business until the Revolution. He was one of the party which captured the fort at the mouth of the Piscataqua river, and was subsequently sent as a delegate to the First Provincial Congress at Exeter, 1775. He began his military career as colonel of the 1st New Hampshire Regiment, May, 1776. Transferred in July following to another command, he continued in the service until the capture of Gen. Burgoyne and his forces, in the effort to secure which he participated. He soon afterwards returned to Portsmouth, where he was honored and esteemed. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress, 1784-'86, and was subsequently made collector of customs at that port. He died April 3, 1789. Mr. Brewster says of him,—“Col. Long was a handsome, portly man, of unblemished Christian char-

¹ Mr. Brewster spells the name as written above.

acter, amiable and courteous, a correct merchant, and a good soldier."

DR. EDMUND CHADWICK (page 11), the son of Deacon John Chadwick, of Boxford, Mass., was born March 10, 1751. He studied medicine, and at the beginning of the Revolution enlisted as a private in a Massachusetts company. From this he was soon transferred to the position of surgeon of his regiment. He was present at the battles of Stillwater, at the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne, and passed the memorable winter of 1777-'78 at Valley Forge. In 1779, after a service of about three years, he settled as a physician at Deerfield, where he resided during the rest of his life, and died Nov. 8, 1826.

Dr. Chadwick was a studious and able physician. In 1803 he was unanimously elected a Fellow of the N. H. Medical Society. He was repeatedly called upon to represent his town, and the church of which he was a member, on occasions when intelligence, sagacity, and good sense were of great value. He was a member of the N. H. Constitutional Convention in 1782, Deerfield not sending a delegate the year before, and of the Federal Convention in 1788.

CAPT. BENJAMIN EMERY (page 11) was a substantial citizen of Concord. He was for many years a member of its proprietary committee, and active in town and business affairs. From time to time he held responsible offices. He was captain of a company of fifty-one men in the Continental army, December, 1775, and of a larger one in 1776. He possessed a good estate, was conservative in his views, and esteemed by his fellow-citizens. He died Nov. 2, 1819, aged 81.

GEN. JONATHAN CHASE (page 19) was a leading citizen of Cornish. In 1771 he petitioned Gov. John Wentworth for the confirmation of the grant of an island in the Connecticut river between Cornish and Windsor. In 1876 he was allowed three barrels of powder, to be used in defence of the frontiers. Having the commission of colonel, he was also muster-master for paying his regiment. In 1781 he petitioned for liberty to raise a company of sixty men, to be employed as scouts, for the defence of the western frontiers. In the disputes with Vermont about the New Hampshire grants, he was appointed by the town of Cornish, March 9, 1779, as their agent to attend a convention in Dresden on the 20th of July; and at an adjourned meeting, August 30, the same year, the voters present unanimously rejected the plan of government for the state of New Hampshire, which was sent to them. He attended a convention on the same matter at Walpole, Nov. 15, 1780, and another at Charlestown, Feb. 7, 1781.¹

FRANCIS WORCESTER, Esq. (page 20), who represented Plymouth, Rumney, and Alexandria as classed towns, was a native of Hollis. In 1776 he was coroner for Grafton county. In 1777 he was chairman of the town committee of safety; in 1777-79, representative to the General Assembly, and an efficient member, filling various offices with ability and promptness; in 1780-'82, a councillor. He was a member of the Constitutional Conventions of 1778 and 1781, and of the Federal Convention of 1788.²

COL. ELISHA PAYNE (page 20) was one of the most

¹ *Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 11.

² *Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x, p. 11.

enterprising men of his time in New Hampshire. He was born in Connecticut in 1731, and came to this state in 1773 as one of the proprietors and first settlers of Cardigan, now Orange. Soon after 1778 he removed to Lebanon, induced thereto by a grant of land conditioned upon his erection of grist- and saw-mills in that town.

He was a leader of the towns on the east side of Connecticut river in the Vermont Controversy, and a representative in the Assembly of that state in 1778 and 1781. He was also lieutenant-governor in 1781-'82, and chief-justice of the supreme court. In December, 1781, he was a major-general of the militia, and authorized "to call them out to repel New Hampshire forces, 'force by force.'"

He was a warm friend of Dartmouth college; a trustee from 1774 to 1801, and its second treasurer, 1779-'80. In 1779 the college conferred upon him its honorary degree of A. M. He represented Lebanon in the New Hampshire legislature in 1784, '85, '90, '93, '96, '97, and 1800. He died at Lebanon, July 10, 1807, aged 76.

CAPT. JOHN WEEKS (page 21), the son of Dr. John Weeks, was born in Hampton, February 17, 1749. While a young man he made repeated hunting excursions to the wilds of the Kennebec river and of the Upper Coös. These gave him a knowledge of those sections of country, of which he availed himself at a later date. Upon the outbreak of the Revolution, he took an active part in the struggle, and held a captain's commission. Soon after the declaration of peace, in 1786, he went to Lancaster, and there purchased land upon which he settled the following year.

The farm of Capt. Weeks has remained in his family, except for a brief period, about a century. Upon it he kept open house for many years. He was of a genial disposition, possessed a broad common-sense, and was highly esteemed. He was active in town affairs, and from time to time held important public offices. He was a delegate to the Federal Convention in 1788, a representative to the General Court in 1792, and repeatedly filled other important public positions. He died in September, 1818.

*Alleged abstract of a Speech in the Federal Convention by
Hon. Joshua Atherton, as printed in the NEW HAMPSHIRE STATESMAN AND CONCORD REGISTER of
July 7, 1827.*

IMPORTATION OF SLAVES.

It is greatly to be deplored that no records of the debates of the Convention of N. H., which adopted the Federal Constitution of the United States, have been preserved. They would be of inestimable importance to the present and future inquirers into the origin and establishment of our political institutions. We do not recollect that a single speech on the adoption of any one section of the Constitution was ever published. By accident we lately found the following abstract of one made by the Honorable JOSHUA ATHERTON, delegate from Amherst, on that section relating to the *Importation of Slaves*, in the following words, viz., “The Migration or Importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by congress prior to 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation not exceeding ten dollars for each person.”

Mr. Dow, the delegate from Weare, spoke very sensibly and feelingly against this paragraph. Several members on the other side spoke in favor of it, with remarks on what Mr. Dow had said, after which Mr. Atherton of Amherst spoke as follows :

Mr. President :—I cannot be of the opinion of the honorable gentleman who last spoke, that this paragraph

is either so unjust [just?] or so inoffensive as they seem to imagine, or that the objections to it are so totally void of foundation. The idea that strikes those who are opposed to this clause so disagreeably and so forcibly is,—hereby it is conceived (if we ratify the Constitution) that we become *consenters to* and *partakers in* the sin and guilt of this abominable traffic, at least for a certain period, without any positive stipulation that it shall even then be brought to an end. We do not behold in it that valuable acquisition, (?) so much boasted of by the honorable member from Portsmouth, “*that an end is then to be put to slavery.*” Congress may be as much or more puzzled to put a stop to it then than we are now. The clause has not secured its abolition.

We do not think [we are] under any obligation to perform works of supererogation in the reformation of mankind. We do not esteem ourselves under any necessity to go to Spain or Italy to suppress the Inquisition of those countries; or of making a journey to the Carolinas to abolish the detestable custom of enslaving the Africans;—but, sir, we will not lend the aid of our ratification to this cruel and inhuman merchandise, not even for a day. There is a great distinction in [between?] not taking a part in the most barbarous violation of the sacred laws of God and humanity, and our becoming guarantees for its exercise for a term of years. Yes, sir, it is our full purpose to wash our hands clear of it, and however unconcerned spectators we may remain of such predatory infractions of the laws of our nation, however unfeelingly we may subscribe to the ratification of man-stealing with all its baneful consequences, yet I cannot but believe, in justice to human nature, that if we reverse the consideration [conditions?] and bring this

claimed power somewhat nearer to our own doors, we shall form a more equitable opinion of its claim to this ratification.

Let us figure to ourselves a company of these man-stealers, well equipped for the enterprise, arriving on our coast. They seize or carry off the whole or a part of the town of Exeter. Parents are taken and children left, or, possibly, they may be so fortunate as to have a whole family taken and carried off together by these relentless robbers: what must be their feelings in the hands of their new and arbitrary masters? Dragged at once from everything they hold dear to them, stripped of every comfort of life like beasts of prey, they are hurried on a loathsome and distressing voyage to the coast of Africa or some other quarter of the globe, where the greatest price may waft them; and here, if anything can be added to their miseries, comes on the heart-breaking scene—a parent is sold to one, a son to another, and a daughter to a third. Brother is cleft from brother, sister from sister, and parents from their darling offspring. Broken with every distress that human nature can feel, and bedewed with tears of anguish, they are dragged into the last stage of depression and slavery, never, never to behold the faces of one another again. The scene is too affecting: I have not fortitude to pursue the subject.

Report of a Speech of Gen. John Sullivan in the Federal Convention, as quoted from the FREEMAN'S ORACLE of March 7, 1788, by Hon. Thomas C. Amory in his Life of Gen. Sullivan, pp. 230, 231.

Every part of the Constitution exhibits proof of the wisdom of those that framed it, and no one article meets my approbation more than the one under consideration. All acknowledge that causes wherein ambassadors, other public ministers or consuls, wherein citizens of different states are parties, or foreigners are interested, ought to come under cognizance of the Federal jurisdiction; and, if this be just and reasonable, it is equally so that causes between different states should be tried by the same tribunal. There are few of us who have not been witness to the bias the most upright judges have upon their minds in deciding causes between their own citizens and foreigners or citizens of another state. The limits of the eastern boundary of this state were formerly disputed by Massachusetts. Towns upon or nigh the line had been granted by both. The Massachusetts grantees commenced actions of trespass against the New Hampshire settlers in the county of York; and the court held, upon consideration, that the lands were within that county. Similar actions were commenced by the New Hampshire settlers within their own province, and the courts determined the actions were well brought. The controversy was long continued, till at length the parties, observing the inefficiency of the laws of either province to determine a question of this kind, compromised the dispute.

The mode pointed out by the Constitution remedies these evils. Tribunals, upon the adoption of this government, may be instituted where the grants of different states will have no more weight than their intrinsic goodness will warrant; where it will not be so much considered whether a party belongs to Massachusetts or New Hampshire, as whether his cause be just. And all this we may certainly predict without any party being ruined in the prosecution or defence of his rights. Justice will be administered without any extraordinary expense to the subject; and congress, under such regulations as they are empowered by the Constitution to make, provide for the easy and expeditious dispensing of law. It seems singular that gentlemen who considered the British king was as eligible as that of any people could be, complain of this regulation as a hardship, and destructive of the rights of the people. They quietly suffered an appeal to Great Britain in all causes of consequence. They then boasted of their liberties; boasted of the liberty of appealing to judges ignorant of our situation, and prejudiced against the name of an American. And will they now object to this provision in the Constitution? Could they be content under their former bondage, and will they now reject a Constitution because an unprejudiced American court are to be their judges in certain causes, under such limitations and regulations as the representatives shall provide?

*Inscription on the School-House now occupying the site of
the Old North Meeting-House in Concord.*

WALKER SCHOOL.

ON THIS SPOT,
CONSECRATED TO RELIGION AND LEARNING,
WAS ERECTED IN 1751
THE FIRST FRAMED MEETING HOUSE
IN CONCORD,
WHICH WAS USED FOR NINETY ONE YEARS
AS A PLACE OF WORSHIP BY
THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY
OF THE TOWN,
AND WITHIN WHOSE WALLS ASSEMBLED
IN 1788
THE NINTH STATE CONVENTION WHICH RATIFIED
THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.
FROM 1847 TO 1867
IT WAS OCCUPIED BY
THE METHODIST GENERAL BIBLICAL INSTITUTE.
BURNED IN 1870,
ITS SITE WAS PURCHASED BY
THE UNION SCHOOL DISTRICT,
WHICH HAS CAUSED TO BE ERECTED
THEREON THIS STRUCTURE.
A. D. 1873.

Extracts from the Report of the Centennial Celebration of the Ratification of the Federal Constitution by New Hampshire by the N. H. Historical Society, on the 21st day of June, 1888, published in the CONCORD EVENING MONITOR.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL FITTINGLY CELEBRATED.

This has been a red-letter day in the annals of the New Hampshire Historical Society. The Constitutional Centennial has been most appropriately observed, with oration, poem, banquet, and after-dinner addresses, by men distinguished in public and private life, in politics and in letters. The society's committee, upon whom has devolved the work of arranging for the day's exercises, has been a most efficient one.

ORATION AND POEM.

At noon members of the society and others assembled in the opera-house to listen to the oration and poem. Gov. Sawyer, Hon J. E. Sargent, president, George L. Balcom of Claremont, vice-president, and Hon. Amos Hadley, recording secretary of the society, and the Orator and Poet of the day, occupied seats upon the stage. Judge Sargent made a brief introductory address, in which he alluded to the event which was being commemorated. He introduced as orator Hon. James

W. Patterson, of Hanover, who delivered the oration. At its close Judge Sargent introduced Allen Eastman Cross, of Manchester, as the Poet of the day.

THE BANQUET.

The banquet at Chase's hall was a most elaborate affair. Dooling of Boston was caterer, and gave personal supervision to the work of efficient employés. The hall made an attractive place for such an event, and presented an elegant appearance with its five richly laid tables. The table of honor was placed across the south side of the hall; and at right angles to it, extending the whole length of the hall, were four other tables. Plates were laid for 200 people. The dinner was served by courses, in an entirely satisfactory manner.

At Judge Sargent's right sat Hon. James W. Patterson, Gov. Sawyer, Hon. Mellen Chamberlain of Boston, Hon. Amos Hadley, Hon. George B. Loring of Salem, Mass., Rev. James DeNormandie of Boston, and Hon. Robert S. Rantoul of Salem, Mass.

Upon his left were Allen Eastman Cross, President Bartlett, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D. D., of Boston, Hon. Samuel C. Eastman, Hampton L. Carson of Philadelphia, secretary of the Constitutional Convention Celebration, Hon. Frank B. Sanborn of Concord, Mass., and Rev. Dr. F. D. Ayer.

Among the other distinguished guests from out of town were Hon. Charles Levi Woodbury of Boston, Capt. Woolmer Williams of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery of London, F. A. Stone of Philadelphia, Capt. A. A. Folsom of Boston, Charles Carleton Coffin of Boston, Hon. E. H. Elwell of Portland, Me., Col. Albert H. Hoyt of Boston, Rev. Henry A. Hazen of Billerica,

Mass., Hon. Nathaniel F. Safford of Boston Hon. Daniel Barnard of Franklin, Hon. Ira Colby of Claremont, Hon. John J. Bell of Exeter, William B. Trask of Boston, ex-Gov. Frederick Smyth of Manchester, George L. Balcom of Claremont, Henry M. Baker, Esq., of Bow, Rev. Harry Brickett, Hon. John W. Noyes of Chester, Hon. David Cross, Herman F. Straw, E. M. Topliff, Rev. C. S. Murkland, Col. J. B. Clarke and Hon. L. B. Clough of Manchester, Prof. Isaac Walker and George B. Little of Pembroke, and Isaac K. Gage of Penacook. A large share of the gentlemen named were accompanied by ladies. The professional and business circles of our own city were finely represented in the gathering.

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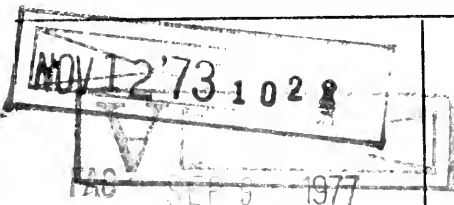
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